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The Recruitment and Organization of a Contract Army, May to November 1337[1]

THE YEAR 1337 is of interest in the military history of Edward III's reign mainly because it was the turning-point between the Scottish and French periods of his activities: the year in which, although open war with France had not yet begun, the attention of the government was concentrated on preparing for it,[2] and the only objective of policy north of the Border was to maintain existing conquests.[3] Henceforward, therefore, Scottish operations were limited in scope and defensive in character and the king took virtually no personal part in them.[4]

[1] I am indebted to Dr. R. L. Storey and to Professor M. R. Powicke for advice and information in the preparation of this article and to the University of Sheffield for a grant from the Research Fund for the collection of the manuscript material.

[2] See e.g. J. H. Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster* (1913), i. 250–4.

[3] These had been subjected to vigorous counter-attacks ever since the withdrawal of the main English field army in the previous autumn. The Kincardineshire forts were destroyed in Oct. 1336, those in Fife were destroyed and Perth besieged in Feb. 1337; Bothwell was taken in March and Stirling besieged in Apr. (*ibid.*, pp. 247–8 and below, p. 2, n. 1).

[4] The news in May of the siege of Stirling brought Edward to the scene, it is true, by forced marches (*Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 290—'die ac nocte . . . properavit'): but the Scots, warned of his coming and failing in their last desperate attempt to take the castle by storm, withdrew before his arrival so that, finding no enemy to fight, he confined himself to reinforcing the castle with fresh troops and supplies and then returned to England taking the sick and wounded with him (*Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh*, ed. H. C. Hamilton (1848–9), ii. 313). Just how long Edward spent on this flying visit is uncertain. Ferriby's Wardrobe Book (British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero C. viii, hereafter Nero C. viii) contains an entry (fo. 261r) of wages to a troop of 45 mounted archers 'assignatorum pro corpore domini Regis' for service from 27 May to 29 June 'during which time they were in the March and country of Scotland with the king for the relief of Stirling'. This period seems, however, to include the time spent going to and from Scotland since there are secret seal warrants dated at Kingscliffe (Hants) on 1 June and at Huntingdon on 30 June (Public Record Office, Warrants under the Signet, C 81/1330 mm. 32 and 33) and according to Murimuth (*Continuatio Chronicarum* (Rolls Ser., 1889), p. 78) the king left Woodstock after Whitsuntide (8 June). The time the king spent actually at Stirling must, therefore, have been quite short, and the dates of the journey approximately those (8–20 June) which Ramsay specifies (p. 248, n. 2), apparently on the strength of the dating of letters patent.

The whole force which drew wages specifically for going with the king to the

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But though the armies raised for service in Scotland were small in size and were commanded by subordinates, the recruitment and organization of the army of 1337 is of considerable interest partly because the king's absence from the field prompted the elaboration of special measures to secure such unity of military and financial control as the king himself would have been able to provide if present and, still more, because the change in the objective of military policy seems to have coincided with a modification in current methods of recruitment the records of which give us an almost unique glimpse into the working of the developing organization of the contract army. Of these two features the first to be provided for was unity of control. By the middle of March a short session of parliament (3–14 March) had given its general approval to the king's intention to establish a strong garrison in Scotland and had sanctioned the levy of men-at-arms and archers in the counties north of Trent[1]: and on 25 March Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was appointed 'Capitaneus et ductor' of the forces already in Scotland and of those about to go there, with power to raise such reinforcements in the lands north of Trent as might be necessary to repel Scottish invasion, and to punish offences in the army as the king would if there himself.[2] And, having thus provided a substitute for his personal control of military affairs, the king next day created a unified financial control by appointing his clerk Thomas de Usflete as paymaster of the forces,[3] to be replaced four months later by another king's clerk, Master John of St. Albans, with William Kellesy as his controller[4]: and

relief of Stirling included the earls of Gloucester, Northampton and Derby and Walter Manny with some 190 men-at-arms and 100 mounted archers serving for the most part for periods between 22 May and 18 June. Northampton's troop of approximately 60 men-at-arms served from 4 June to 31 July but it is explicitly stated that part of this service was 'after the king's return to England' (Nero C. viii, fos. 246v, 247r and 261r).

[1] No official record of the proceedings of this parliament seems to have survived, the only entry for 11 Edw. III in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* being that of a few petitions (ii. 96); but the decisions of the assembly are cited e.g. in *Rotuli Scotiae* (1814–19), i. 487b and 495b.

An order to the population of some northern shires to assist Henry Percy and Ralph Neville whom the king had ordered to raise troops to relieve the siege of Perth had already been issued on 22 Feb. but was subsequently surrendered and cancelled (*ibid.*, p. 483a) and new orders for a more general levy issued on 20 March (below, p. 9, n. 6).

[2] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 488a.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 488b. As early as 18 March a letter was addressed to him as 'receiver of money for the army of Scotland' (*ibid.*, p. 486b), but the formal letter of appointment was not dated till 26 March and he is recorded as drawing wages from 27 March 'when he took office at York' to 28 July 'when he resigned his office' and Master John of St. Albans 'took it up' (Nero C. viii, fo. 246r).

[4] On 28 July 1337 (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 497b). On 10 Aug. Richard Ferriby, keeper of the wardrobe, was ordered to audit Usflete's accounts (*Cal. Close Rolls 1337–9*, p. 189). Kellesy had previously served Usflete as controller and drew wages for doing so from 25 May to 27 July (Nero C. viii, fo. 246r).

some time before the end of April a substantial advance was made for the payment of wages.[1]

Of these appointments Warwick's has, incidentally, some biographical interest since Warwick, born in 1314, was nearly of an age with the king and had shown his military bent by leading contingents under the king's command in each of the three Scottish campaigns preceding 1337. His selection as commander-in-chief in 1337, prompted, we may believe, by the king's estimate of his quality on these occasions as well as by his high birth, seems to have been justified not only by his success in holding the Scottish counter-attacks in that campaign but by his later succession of distinguished services in the war with France[2]: so that his appointment in 1337 is a notable example of Edward's essential gift for picking his subordinates and for recognizing, at an early age, the military abilities of his aristocratic contemporaries.[3] The main importance of the two appointments is, however, in the administrative field in which they form a link in the chain leading to the unification of financial with military control. The appointment of a single paymaster for the forces of a particular commander-in-chief was not, of course, a new arrangement, having been adopted for the Gascon expedition of 1324 when the earl of Kent was king's lieutenant in Gascony and Nicholas Hugate 'receiver of the moneys . . . for . . . the king's affairs in the duchy'[4]: but it was not yet an established routine and was not repeated during Henry of Lancaster's brief spells as 'captain and leader of the king's army in Scotland' in 1336.[5] But when once revived for Warwick's command in 1337 it was continued without a break when, in

[1] *Cal. Close Rolls 1337–9*, p. 56. Warwick himself had already received a free gift of 500 marks a few days before his appointment as commander (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334–8*, p. 394).

[2] He commanded 40 men-at-arms in 1334–5; 92 (including 2 bannerets and 17 knights) in 1335 and 74 (including 2 bannerets and 9 knights) in 1336 (Nero C. viii, fos. 233v, 236r and 240r). In the later campaigns he was a marshal of the army during the Crecy campaign; he fought at Espagnols-sur-Mer and commanded the vanguard at Poitiers. The details of his career are given in G.E.C., *Complete Peerage* (new edn.), XII. ii. 372–4.

[3] Other examples are those of the earl of Arundel, who succeeded Warwick as commander-in-chief in Scotland (below, p. 4) and William Bohun, created earl of Northampton in March 1337 (G.E.C., i. 242 and IX. 664).

[4] *Foedera*, ed. T. Rymer (The Hague, 1737–45), II. ii. 105; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1324–7*, p. 52.

[5] Henry of Lancaster was appointed in 1336: but his period of service lasted only from 1 May till 16 Nov. (Nero C. viii, fo. 240r). The king himself also was engaged in active operations in Scotland from the middle of June to early Sept. and again from mid-Oct. to mid-Dec. 1336 (A. E. Prince, 'The Army and Navy', in *The English Government at Work, 1327–36*, ed. J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris (1940–50), i. 335); so that Lancaster was in sole control for only two short periods of some 6 weeks each.

There were also paymasters on this and other occasions, appointed to pay wages to particular types or bodies of troops (A. E. Prince, 'The payment of army wages in Edward III's reign', *Speculum*, XIX (1944), 139–40); but Usflete seems to be the first paymaster since 1324 with responsibility for a whole army.

October 1337, the earls of Arundel and Salisbury succeeded Warwick as captains of the army in Scotland with Walter de Weston (appointed 1 November) as their paymaster[1] and again in the following April when the sole command devolved on Arundel[2]: so that by the time the Ordinances of Walton were drawn up in July 1338 it was sufficiently well-established to be tacitly accepted as the normal plan for any theatre of war and the further step was taken of unifying financial and military control by the proviso that the paymaster shall not make any payment without the commander's written warrant and at the end of the commander's term of service he shall furnish the king with an indentured list of such warrants to serve as the exchequer's authority for allowing the paymaster's disbursements.[3] In 1337 control over the paymaster's outgoings had been exercised, apparently, not by the commander-in-chief but by the chancellor of Berwick,[4] and there seems to have been nothing in the way of an indentured list of warrants for payment. But there was a list of names of those who were expected to serve in the campaign with the anticipated numbers of their contingents, and this list, having been handed in by the paymaster,[5] might have served as partial authentication of his payments. A further step to secure co-ordination of military and financial control was also taken in 1337 by the issue, on 25 July, to the marshal of the army, of a special order to inspect the soldiers at the king's wages as often as possible and to certify absences so that wages might be withheld for the period of absence.[6]

The organization set up for Warwick's forces in 1337 seems, therefore, not only to have inaugurated something in the nature of a standing Scottish command in the king's absence, but to have prepared the way for the

[1] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 503a and 513b. There seems, theoretically, to have been some overlapping of the two commands in point of time, since the letter appointing Arundel and Salisbury was dated 6 Oct. while Warwick continued to draw wages till 19 Nov. (P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, E 101/388/5 mm. 12 and 13). A letter of 9 Oct. (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 509), however, orders Arundel and Salisbury to be at Newcastle by St. Nicholas' day (13 Nov.) and, according to Professor Prince, their 'actual' service did not commence till 1 Dec. (Prince, *Speculum*, xix. 142), so that, apparently, there was no overlap in practice.

[2] On 25 April (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 524b).

[3] T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, iii. 73 and 149. Professor Tout points out (p. 84 n. 1) that Arundel, whose appointment as sole commander in Scotland preceded the drawing-up of the Ordinances by about three months, 'was clearly the supreme commander contemplated in the ordinances of Walton' and speculates as to whether John Charnels, deputy treasurer at York, was 'the "treasurer for the Scots war" referred to in the ordinances'. This suggestion seems, however, to be untenable in view of Weston's appointment as paymaster, of which Tout seems to have been unaware. Charnels was also, apparently, in the Netherlands from the autumn of 1337 till late in July 1338. (I am indebted to Dr. E. B. Fryde for this information.)

[4] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 488b.

[5] Below, pp. 6–7.

[6] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 497a. Sir John Mourix is named as marshal of the army in Nero C. viii, fo. 261v.

establishment of a formal unification of military and financial responsibility. The form established in the Ordinances of Walton seems, indeed, rarely to have been followed in practice in later years,[1] but the example of 1337 was not without value in helping to create a working prototype.

A more important feature of the expedition, however, is that, in conjunction with the Scottish operations of the previous year, it marks a change in current methods of recruitment. Up till 1336 Edward III had followed the example of his predecessors in relying on obligatory service to provide the nucleus of his mounted troops and using the incentive of pay to augment it with volunteers. After the opening campaign of 1327, it is true, he issued no general summons for feudal service but in the early and middle thirteen-thirties sent orders to individual landowners summoning them on their allegiance to raise troops for his service to the best of their ability.[2] The burden of this form of service was mitigated by the award of pay and it provided the king with several substantial armies[3] but the arbitrary selection of the individual leaders resulted in some reluctance to serve[4] and in 1336, when only limited numbers were required,[5] the king dispensed with any form of individual summons and fell back, apparently, on voluntary service supported by a general summons to arms under the statute of Winchester to all classes up to the £40 property holders and by the inclusion of knights and squires or men-at-arms in most of the arrays to be held by the commissioners.[6]

In 1337 the process of reducing the compulsive and increasing the voluntary element was carried still further: and although the commander-in-chief was given power, as we have seen,[7] to levy such troops (including men-at-arms) north of Trent as might be necessary, no compulsion seems, in fact, to have been used in raising the heavy cavalry at the outset of the expedition.[8] And, in place of compulsion, the king relied

[1] Prince, *Speculum*, xix. 147 *seq.*

[2] Prince, 'Army and Navy', pp. 344–51.

[3] A. E. Prince, 'The strength of English armies in the reign of Edward III', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlvi (1931), 353–7.

[4] In 1334 considerable numbers of those who were summoned failed to appear; the scope of the summonses had to be widened and more peremptory writs sent out to the negligent and recalcitrant (Prince, 'Army and Navy', p. 351): and although, as Prince suggests, the reluctance may have been largely due to the fact that the campaign was in winter, the episode must have served as an indication of the limitations of this particular form of compulsion.

[5] Prince, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlvi. 358.

[6] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 401a, 406b, 419b and 434b.

[7] Above, p. 2.

[8] Orders were issued in Jan. 1337 for knights and men-at-arms to be raised to go with the king to defend the realm (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 479b and 480b) but this was before Warwick's expedition was planned. On 26 March 1337, also, the king ordered John de Radclyf and Henry de Trafford, with their brothers and relatives, to go with horses and arms, well arrayed to serve in the company of the earl of Warwick in Scotland on their faith and allegiance and on pain of forfeiture: and they were warned that if they were 'difficult' they would be penalized (*ibid.*,

partly on the activities of individual recruiting agents like the indefatigable William la Zouche, keeper of the privy seal,[1] and still more on a policy of taking the landowning classes into his confidence and explaining his aims to them not only in parliament but in supplementary provincial assemblies intended to reach the largest possible number of those who might be expected to volunteer for this form of service.

In pursuit of this policy a local assembly of magnates and others who had not been present in parliament was summoned to meet at York on 6 April when the earl of Warwick with the bishop of Durham, the steward of the king's household and Geoffrey le Scrope would explain to them the king's needs in the expedition[2]: and a fortnight after this meeting (23 April) a general notification was issued that the last three of these with William la Zouche had been appointed to arrange conditions of service.[3] Just what forms of persuasion were used or what inducements were offered at the York assembly we do not know since there seems to be no record of its proceedings but the response to this experiment in recruiting procedure[4] seems to have been not unpromising. The first indication of its extent comes from a document preserved among the Exchequer Accounts and catalogued as 'List of soldiers available for the Scotch war'.[5] It consists of a single membrane headed 'These are the men-at-arms whom the com-

p. 489a). As, however, they were ordered to bring 100 archers each with them it seems probable that they were being ordered to act as centenars in the county levy, not as leaders of a cavalry troop.

[1] On 18 March 1337 the king ordered payment to Zouche of 1,000 marks granted in consideration of his 'fruitful and laborious services in Scotland, in retaining men-at-arms and others with him, and which he does not cease to render' (*Cal. Close Rolls 1337–9*, p. 25).

[2] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 487b. Ramsay (i. 251) says of this and two similar assemblies held later 'The end of all this friendly dealing, of course, was money'. But it seems clear from the substance of the writs of summons, e.g. 'Necnon ad excitandum vos et una vobiscum tractandum super itinere vestro ... in comitiva praedicti Comitis Warrewicae', that it was with raising men rather than money that the assembly was concerned.

[3] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 489b.

[4] Negotiations of this sort to arrange for the performance of obligatory service were not, of course, uncommon. 'Commissioners of array', according to Keeney, 'induced men to serve by verbal persuasion and by pressure rather than by documents and proclamations' (B. C. Keeney, 'Military service and the development of nationalism in England, 1272–1327', *Speculum*, xxii (1947), 546); at times also those who had been summoned for some form of compulsory service were able, when they were assembled, to negotiate with the king about the conditions under which they were prepared to serve, as in the case of the £20 land-holders in 1297 (M. R. Powicke, 'The general obligation to cavalry service under Edward I', *ibid.*, xxviii (1953), 824–6; and on occasion we find the king appointing representatives to negotiate with 'barons and knights' as well as 'other men-at-arms' to provide garrisons for towns in the Scotch March (15 March 1315 (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 139b and 140a)). But there seems to be no exact precedent for a public meeting on this scale to raise and arrange terms for purely voluntary service.

[5] P.R.O., E 101/15/17, catalogued in Public Record Office, *Lists and Indexes No. XXXV*, p. 12: 'Exchequer, Various Accounts', and printed below in Appendix 1.

mander (chefteyn) and the others will leati to Scotland'; it specifies next that the commander shall be at Newcastle-on-Tyne on 7 May with 40 men-at-arms (tq be increased at Whitsuntide to 120) and then gives a list of the commanders of subordinate contingents with the number of men-at-arms which each shall bring to the same place and the total number of hobelars and archers to be sent by the counties. The document is undated except for an endorsement (in a contemporary hand) 'per testimonium Thome de Vsflete, anno xj°', and it is assigned in the official *List* to the reign of Edward II. But this attribution is incompatible both with the circumstances of Edward II's eleventh year[1] and with the presence in the list of leaders such as the earl of Warwick who, in 11 Edward II, was only some four or five years of age[2] and of Walter Manny, who did not come to England till 1328[3]: and it seems clear from the endorsement naming Thomas Usflete, the paymaster of Warwick's army,[4] as the man by whom the document was 'communicated', that its date is not 11 Edward II but 11 Edward III and that the men listed in it are those who were expected to serve in Scotland under Warwick's command in 1337.

The document gives no indication of the terms under which service was to be performed—the entries specifying merely the name of the leader and the number of men-at-arms who are to be with him: but the king's commissioners were authorized, as we have seen,[5] to treat ('ad tractandum et conveniendum') about the terms of service and there is an instance of their trying to persuade one of the leaders to increase the size of his contingent so that the earl of Warwick might make up the number of men-at-arms he had contracted with the king to keep.[6] It seems, therefore, that the document is not a list of the obligations of men called up for compulsory service but of the undertakings of contractors entering into voluntary agreements; and as such it is of unusual interest, for though lists of men summoned for compulsory service and lists of garrisons actually on service are common enough, very few documents of the period contain

[1]The document names 7 May as the date of the muster, so that preparations for it must have been taking place during March or April: but these two months in 11 Edw. II (1318) were fully occupied by conferences between royal and Lancastrian representatives on the question of the internal government of the country, and though a feudal levy was eventually summoned to repel a Scottish inroad, it was not till 10 June (Ramsay, i. 90–1; *Cal. Close Rolls 1313–18*, p. 622).

[2]Appendix 1, ln. 23: he was born in Feb. 1314 (above, p. 3 n. 2).

[3]Appendix 1, ln. 39: *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, ed. J. Viard and E. Déprez (Paris, 1904–5), i. 81.

[4]Above, p. 2.

[5]Above, p. 6 n. 3.

[6]Sir Roger de Swynnerton is put down in the list for a contingent of 10 men-at-arms (Appendix 1, ln. 34) and he entered into service with a contingent of this size (Nero C. viii, fo. 246r) on 7 May; on 29 May the king's commissioners were ordered to treat with him 'concerning his stay with twenty men-at-arms, or more if he will undertake more' '... ut numerus hominum quos dictus comes secum iuxta conventionem cum ipso [rege] factam habere debet ... impleatur' (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 490a).

anything in the nature of a list of contract contingents or a preliminary estimate of a projected force for a coming campaign.[1]

It seems clear also from the details of the list that it is not simply a 'fair copy'—an inventory of the army in its final state—but is a 'working draft' of the force in process of formation. The first twenty-three lines are carefully set out and written in a bold well-formed hand: each contingent (after the commander's) is prefaced by the word 'Item' and the leaders' names are followed, in the first four entries, by 'y serra od' or, in the remaining seven, by 'od' before the number of men-at-arms. But thereafter the writing deteriorates[2] being smaller, less carefully formed and generally lighter, while the spacing is less regular and the formula of the entries becomes steadily less elaborate. In the next six entries the prefatory 'Item' is dropped and 'auera' substituted for 'od'; and in the remaining seventeen lines (coming after an irregular gap) there is, except for the entry of the county contingents, neither prefix to the leaders' names nor connecting word between them and the statement of the contingent. There are, moreover, a number of cancellations and alterations and, apparently, some interpolations. The names of a group of household knights[3] bringing, collectively, forty men-at-arms are crossed out and the names of two of them are re-entered separately later on[4] with, apparently, thirty-two men-at-arms between them: the name of William la Zouche, one of a group of four knights bringing collectively twelve men-at-arms, is crossed out with the explanatory note 'with the earl of Warwick'[5]: and the name of the bishop of Carlisle is inserted (in the 'casual' style) on the right-hand side of the membrane, filling up a line[6] left partly blank by the statement of the commander's contingent. There are, also, signs of haste or carelessness in making the entries in the facts that the name of Lord Clifford[7] is repeated and crossed out in the following line (with the same contingent) and that the name of Monsire Edward de Montague is written (also in the 'casual' style) on the right-hand side of the membrane[8] without any contingent as well as on the left-hand side in

[1]The nearest approach seems to be a document among the Chancery Miscellanea (P.R.O., C 47/2/33) which gives not only numbers of archers and the names of leaders and contingents expected but estimates the extent of commissariat and financial supplies needed. (Prince (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlvi. 362) accepts the attribution of this document to Edward III's Flemish expedition of 1340 but Dr. Fryde, on the strength of internal evidence, assigns it to the Breton campaign of 1342.)

The absence of other lists like Usflete's suggests that such lists were rarely drawn up: perhaps the undertakings in 1337 were only verbal, in which case there would be special need for a written list of the essential particulars.

[2]Deterioration, in fact, seems to set in even before this since the brackets enclosing the names of the leaders of the twelfth contingent are very irregularly drawn and the end bracket comes after, instead of before, the word 'od': the statement of the strength of the contingent seems also to be written in the 'casual' style of the later entries rather than in the 'neat' style of the earlier ones.

[3]Lns. 15–19.

[4]Lns. 35–7.

[5]Lns. 20–3.

[6]Ln. 4.

[7]Ln. 26.

[8]Between lns. 13 and 14.

the 'neat' hand[1] as one of a group bringing a collective contingent. These features suggest that the first twelve agreements to be concluded were entered in the formal style at the same time, presumably soon after the order on 23 April to the commissioners to treat about terms of service; the other names being added in the more casual 'draft' style as new agreements were concluded between then and the day of muster on 7 May (the bishop of Carlisle's being interpolated to group him with the five other magnates whose names head the list of leaders) and some of the original entries being cancelled as contingents were rearranged and re-entered lower down the list.

The document, therefore, throws light on two features of the practical working of the contract system which are, in general, very obscure. It gives us, first of all, a rare, if only a brief and rather tantalizing glimpse of the process by which such an army was gradually built up, its contracts accepted and modified, its contingents grouped and re-grouped and the subordination of commands arranged. Secondly, and with even more importance, it gives us an unexampled opportunity of seeing, not merely how far a few individual contractors fulfilled their undertaking, but how far the actual size and composition of a contract army as a whole corresponded with the collective promise of its members. In doing so we are to some extent handicapped by the fact that the list gives no indication of the length of service which the leaders undertook[2] nor of the rank of the men-at-arms of which their contingents were to be made up: but if all the leaders undertook to serve for the same period the army would have comprised 400 hobelars and 4,000 archers from the counties[3] with 580 men-at-arms serving in 28 contingents ranging in size from 120 with the earl of Warwick, 80 with Lord Percy, 50 with Lord Mowbray, and 40 each with the earl of Angus and Ralph Neville down to two each with Basset, Cusance and Harrington.[4]

It was to be, therefore, comparable in size to most of the armies raised by Edward III in the decade 1334–43[5] and was, in the main, not surprisingly, a north-country force supplemented only by three or four midland contingents[6] and by a few small retinues from the king's

[1] Ln. 20. Other minor signs of the same characteristics are the alteration of 'Will' to 'Simon' Basset (ln. 37) and the writing of 'Willelmi' for 'Willelmo' in the footnote.

[2] The list seems to imply that all the leaders are to muster at Newcastle on 7 May and two of them (Warwick, ln. 3 and Mowbray, ln. 25) agree to keep a specified number of men from then to Whitsuntide but no date is named in any entry for the conclusion of service.

[3] Ln. 31.

[4] Lns. 2–4, 7, 25, 5, 8, 37, 38 and 30 respectively.

[5] Prince, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlvi. 354–63—except, of course, the 'ambitious expedition' of 1335 which reached the exceptional total of 15,000 men of all types.

[6] The recorded summonses to the county levies (issued on 20 March) were confined to the 6 northern counties with another 200 archers each from Notts. and Derbys. and 100 from Warwicks. and Worcs. jointly (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 486b and 487a)—though the last two counties were outside the scope of the parliamentary sanction which had specified counties north of Trent (above, p. 2). The leaders of the

household[1] totalling roughly a tenth of the whole force of men-at-arms. The only exceptional features in its composition are that there is apparently no provision for any archers in the retinues and no specific demand for any but foot archers from the counties[2]; while, on the other hand, the total proportion of archers and hobelars to men-at-arms is very much higher than the normal.[3] This anomaly seems to be due, in some measure, to the provisional character of the list or to error in the estimates since the total number of troops summoned from the counties by the commissions of array recorded on the Scotch Rolls amounted to only 40 hobelars and 3,500 archers as against the 400 hobelars and 4,000 archers projected in the list of contingents. Even on these lower figures, however, there is still a marked disproportion and it seems that the army which, in fact, assembled, differed in a number of particulars from the undertakings recorded in the list and from the specifications of the commissions of array.

The records of service are not entirely complete and continuous[4] but in the first half of June there were roughly 1,260 hobelars (mainly from Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland), 240 horse archers (mainly from Lancashire) and 1,440 footmen (mainly from Yorkshire), some, though not all, of whom are explicitly described as archers: in the

contingents, as far as they are traceable, all seem to have been north-country landowners or officials except the members of the king's household, the earl of Warwick, Roger de Swynnerton and William la Zouche whose family lands were in the midlands and the Welsh March.

[1]The members of the household were John Darcy the steward, Simon Basset, William de Cusance, Walter Manny, Thomas de Swynnerton, John Darcy the son, Richard Damary and John de Isle (Appendix 1, lns. 35–9 and 43–6: P.R.O., E 101/388/5 m. 10).

[2]Prince shows that 'the system of horse archers was by 1334 well developed' (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlvi. 355) and both in 1334 and 1335 the retinues included a substantial proportion of them (*ibid.*, pp. 354 and 357).

[3]In most of the campaigns 'other troops' were two or three times as numerous as men-at-arms (*ibid.*, pp. 354–63) but the proportion for Warwick's projected army was more than seven times.

[4]Richard Ferriby's Wardrobe Book (Nero C. viii, fos. 245r–247r and 261r) gives a series of payments to the contract retinues from the muster of the army on 7 May to the closing of the accounts on 30 Aug. and Edmund de la Beche's counter-roll of wardrobe expenses (P.R.O., E 101/388/5 mm. 12 and 13) gives a further series from 31 Aug. to the end of Warwick's period of service on 19 Nov. from which Tout (iv. 100–1) quotes some figures, though neither he nor Prince (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlvi. 358) attempts to use the entries in Ferriby's book to make any estimate of the strength of Warwick's army from May to Aug. And though Prince quotes some particulars from Ferriby, he apparently overlooked the entry of Warwick's wages from 7 May to 30 Aug. and states that he 'did not go on service till August' (*Speculum*, xix. 141 nn. 3–6).

Ferriby also gives wage payments to the county levies (Nero C. viii, fos. 261v–262v). These entries, however, are not continuous but are confined to two short periods—roughly the first half of June and the month from mid-Aug. to mid-Sept. It is, therefore, impossible to assess accurately the extent to which the counties fulfilled the king's demands or to trace the continuous fluctuation in the numbers of the levies.

month from mid-August to mid-September the total number serving had dropped from 2,940 to 2,530 and the composition had changed quite drastically, the hobelars having almost entirely disappeared[1] while the number of horse archers had risen to 600 (Lancashire still supplying the great bulk) and the footmen to over 2,000 (of whom Yorkshire supplied more than half and Derbyshire nearly a quarter).[2] So that the total county levies, though substantial, were always appreciably below the number of those summoned and differed considerably, at times, from the specified composition.

Nor did the contract contingents succeed at any one time in assembling the total number listed in the draft. The payments, which in this case cover the whole period, show that of the 580 troopers and leaders listed, 290 men-at-arms of all ranks (including the leaders) assembled on the muster day—7 May: later accessions brought the number to 435 on 1 June and the arrival of two substantial contingents on 13 June raised the total to 493. The numbers were increased slightly by a few small contingents not included in the draft list but the total never rose above 510 and on 14 June the numbers of the listed contingents began to fall again, dropping to 401 on 1 July; and, after a slight rally in mid-August, they continued to fall slowly till the end of the commander's period of service. The deficiency seems to be due partly to the failure of most of those who promised only small contingents to come at all[3]—thereby reducing the expected total by some forty-five men-at-arms—and partly to the short service of most of the small and medium contingents whose numbers were never complete or whose service did not begin till the earlier arrivals had already withdrawn or were on the eve of doing so.[4] Although, therefore, most of the men who

[1] Fifty appeared for the first week in Sept. and 180 from 6 to 14 Nov.

[2] Appendix III.

[3] This is true in the main of the non-household leaders: out of 14 such offering contingents of less than 10, only 2 (Furnival and Littlebury) are recorded as receiving wages: and of these Furnival's troop did not arrive till long after Littlebury's had left. The household contingents, on the other hand, most of which were small, brought *in toto* a few more men than they had undertaken, though most of them had ceased to draw wages by 25 June. Walter Manny, who agreed to bring 3 men-at-arms brought 12 but served only with the king at the relief of Stirling from 22 May to 17 June. Richard Damary, John Darcy the son and John de Isle do not appear in the wage list but Darcy seems to have served in his father's troop (P.R.O., E 101/20/17 m. 10) and the other two may also have served under someone else's command. It is possible that some of the small non-household contingents were also, like that of Zouche or of John Darcy junior, incorporated into one or other of the larger units; there does not, however, appear to be concrete evidence of any such arrangement and although there are horse inventories giving long lists of names of the men serving in 5 of the largest contingents, none of the 'missing' leaders of small contingents appear in them (*ibid.*, mm. 2 and 4–10). John de Isle, however (Appendix I, ln. 46), served in the Scotch March from Jan. to June 1338 (P.R.O., E 101/20/24).

[4] The earl of Angus, for example, agreed to bring 40 but never had more than 31 and that only till 20 June; Ralph Hastings and Roger Swynnerton each brought his agreed troop of 10 but left by the middle of June whereas Lord Mowbray, who

agreed to bring large or medium-sized troops substantially fulfilled their undertakings for part of the campaign, their numbers were, even at their peak, short of some sixty effectives and for most of the time did not come within 150 or 200 of their maximum potential, so that the main burden of supplying the essential force of heavy cavalry fell on the commander-in-chief himself and some half-dozen of the northern magnates who were most closely concerned in maintaining the English position in Scotland—Wake, Percy, Neville, Mowbray and the bishop of Carlisle—each of whom fulfilled, sooner or later, his essential obligation, and most of whom, at any rate for part of the time, exceeded it.[1]

In one respect, it is true, the army was stronger and more up-to-date in its composition than appears from the draft estimate since four of the leaders (Warwick, Percy, Darcy and Manny) brought archers as well as men-at-arms in their retinue (thirty foot and 245 mounted of whom Warwick brought 173 in his own contingent).[2] But it is clear that the king was not satisfied with the results of his experiment in voluntary recruiting. On 29 May, as we have seen, when the army had been in the field for only three weeks, he tried to persuade one of the commanders to double, or more than double the size of his contingent[3]: and a month later, on 26 June, when the numbers on service had already begun to decline, a new and more numerous commission was appointed to explain the king's needs afresh to an assembly of the knights and men-at-arms of Yorkshire and was backed up, on this occasion, by a more explicit assertion of the king's compulsory powers.[4] The effect of this appeal may perhaps be seen in the

agreed to bring 20 men up to 7 June and 50 from then onwards, did not come into pay at all till 31 May and did not reach his full total till 15 Aug. Similarly the bishop of Carlisle, Ralph Dacre and Lord Clifford each agreed to bring 20 men; but the first two did not appear till 13 June and the last till 1 July, while both Clifford and Dacre withdrew at the end of Aug. (Appendix II).

[1] Warwick contracted to bring 40 men for the first month and 120 from then onwards: he brought 63 for the first month and 117 from then till the end of Aug. Wake brought his agreed contingent of 40 from 7 May till 30 Aug. and 39 from then till 12 Oct.: Percy agreed to bring 80: he had 40 in May, 50 for most of June, July and Aug., nearly 60 in the first half of Sept. and 83 from 8 to 19 Nov. Neville agreed to bring 40 and having brought 33 in May and 48 for most of June, July and Aug., rose to 62 for part of Sept. and 70 from 11 Nov. to 5 Dec. Mowbray, though slow to reach his full quota of 50, maintained it from mid-Aug. onwards; and the bishop, though engaging to bring only 20 had 43 in pay from 13 June to 14 Oct. Lord Roos, though undertaking only 20 men, maintained his numbers in full from the day of muster to the end of Aug. (Appendix II).

[2] Nero C. viii, fo. 261r. The proportion of bannerets and knights to simple men-at-arms, roughly one banneret to 4 knights and 24 other men-at-arms, was not abnormal for the period (Prince, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlvi. 353–71 *passim*).

[3] Above, p. 7.

[4] The sheriff of Yorkshire was given stricter orders to compel attendance and the knights were told not merely (as in March) to consider the question and do everything possible for the king but to obey the commissioners' orders (*Rot. Scot.*, i. 494a), though the commissioners were still instructed (on 28 June) to negotiate with them about the terms of service (*ibid.*, p. 494b). A fortnight later fresh orders

slight strengthening of some of the existing contingents, and in the arrival of a number of entirely new contingents during the latter part of August. Just how large these new contingents were we cannot say: those whose wages were paid through the Wardrobe amounted to nearly fifty men-at-arms[1] but a number of other leaders, Edward Balliol, titular king of Scotland, the earl marshal, and some lesser magnates, received prests on their wages direct from the exchequer and the size of their contingents is unknown.[2] But though they must have brought a substantial addition to the army[3] and though two of the largest of the original contingents, those of Neville and Percy, raised their numbers still further in early September, the smaller contingents began to drift away again after a few weeks' service, leaving the king still dependent, as before, on the few outstanding leaders who maintained substantial contingents throughout the period of the campaign.

The force, it is true, seems, in spite of its palpable defects, to have discharged its main task of beating off Scotch attack as at Stirling and Edinburgh[4]: but in comparison with the king's active and aggressive campaigns in earlier years it must have seemed to many as it did to Walsingham that 'though they invaded Scotland several times they had achieved little'.[5] And the king, in particular, had good reason to be dissatisfied with the fluctuating and unreliable numbers of the contract contingents raised in response to his successive appeals and to feel that the half-dozen magnates who had all along provided the hard core of the army were an uncomfortably narrow basis for a really satisfactory and effective force. And though, apparently, he had at this time service which was not only voluntary but gratuitous,[6] it is no wonder that in preparing to raise

were issued to array men-at-arms and others in Notts., Derbys., and Tynedale (*ibid.*, p. 495).

[1] Nero C. viii, fo. 247r.

[2] The other new leaders named as receiving prests at this time (29 July and subsequent dates) from John of St. Albans, the newly-appointed paymaster, were Richard Talbot, Thomas Ughtred and Ralph Basset of Drayton: John Mowbray and the bishop of Carlisle who were already serving also received prests on 29 July (P.R.O., E 101/20/19).

[3] Richard Talbot, leader of one of the new contingents, accounted for a troop of 44 men-at-arms (including 7 knights) and 40 archers, serving from 15 Aug. to 30 Nov. and receiving a total of £394 in wages (E 101/20/18). His prest (E 101/20/19) was for £200 out of a total (for all the leaders named) of over £1,700.

[4] The presence of individual contingents at those sieges is mentioned in the pay entries, and some of the horses valued in the inventories (E 101/20/17) are marked as being killed there or lost elsewhere in Scotland: a horse from Warwick's contingent, for example, was 'stolen by the Scots by night on 23 June in the forest of Jedworth' (*ibid.*, m. 7d).

[5] '. . . diversis vicibus Scotiam intrantes modicum profecerunt' (T. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Ser., 1863–4), i. 198–9).

[6] In Jan. 1338 the king granted to the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem that his action in sending recently ('nuper') at the king's request and maintaining in Scotland, of his own free will ('ex mera voluntate'), and at his own expense for half a year 10 men-at-arms to fight the king's enemies, should not be taken as a

troops for the new commanders, Arundel and Salisbury, he reverted to the principle of compulsion and sought a broader basis for their army by issuing explicit orders to some fifty magnates to bring contingents of precisely defined strength and composition.[1] The incentive of pay and profit might in due course provide adequate voluntary service for campaigns of conquest in France: it was evidently not yet adequate to maintain a holding force in the less attractive conditions of the Scottish war.

N. B. LEWIS

APPENDIX I

LIST OF LEADERS AND THEIR CONTINGENTS[2]

Public Record Office, Exchequer Accounts (E101) 15/17[3]

1 Ces sont les gentz darmes qe le chefteyn et les autres meneront deuers
les parties Descoce.
2 Primerement le chefteyn serra a Noef Chastel sur Tyne le vij
3 iour de May od/xl hommes darmes tantqe a la feste de la Pente-
4 coste et de la feste de la Pentecoste/en auant od $\frac{\text{xx}}{\text{vj}}$ hommes darmes pur
le temps de sa demoere. Leuesqe de Cardoill od xx hommes darmes
5 Item le Counte Danegos y serra od—xl hommes darmes
6 Item le seignur Wak y serra od—xl hommes darmes
7 Item le seignur de Percy y serra od—$\frac{\text{xx}}{\text{iiij}}$ hommes darmes
8 Item monsire Rauf de Neuill y serra od—xl hommes darmes
9 Item monsire Randolf Dacre od—xx hommes darmes
10 Item monsire Nichol Meynel od—viij hommes darmes
11 Item monsire William Biccell de Werynton' }
12 Et monsire Thomas de Lathom y serront } od—vj hommes darmes
13 Item monsire Randolf fiz Rauf od—vj hommes darmes

Monsire Edward de Montagu

precedent binding his successors (P.R.O., Patent Roll, 12 Edw. III, pt. i m. 34). The Hospitallers, however, had special reasons for wishing to be in the king's favour: as members of an international order subject to an alien head they were liable to have their property seized or controlled by the king (*Cal. Close Rolls 1337–9*, pp. 140, 240 and 632): they were also under some obligation to him for the confiscated estates of the Templars conferred on them some 13 years previously (Ramsay, i. 142); and they may, perhaps, have been anxious to avoid the Templars' fate by showing a conspicuous readiness to supply the king's military needs as they had already done earlier in the reign when the prior 'freely gave £200 for his service against the Scots when they invaded the kingdom' (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1334–8*, p. 186). So that their action cannot be taken as evidence of any general enthusiasm for gratuitous or even for paid voluntary service.

[1] *Rot. Scot.*, i. 507–8. The total demanded was just over 500 men-at-arms, 110 hobelars and 130 archers; and very few contingents rose above the average of 10 men-at-arms.

[2] The lines in the document printed below have been numbered for ease of reference.

[3] Crown copyright material reproduced by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

14 Item sire Thomas Vsflete od—vj hommes darmes

15[1] *Item monsire Johan Darcy*
16 *Monsire Thomas de Bradeston*
17 *Monsire Simon Basset ouesqes*
18 *autres compaignons del houstiel*
19 *nostre seignur le Roi pur le temps qils demeurent* } *od xl hommes darmes*

20 Item monsire Edward de Montagu od
21 Monsire Thomas Murdak
22 Monsire Robert de Littelburi } xij hommes darmes
23[2] *Monsire William la Zousche* od le Conte de Warr'

24 Le seignur de Ros y auera—xx hommes darmes
25 Le seignur de Moubray y auera—xx hommes darmes tanteqe a la Pentecoste et adonqes y serra od L hommes darmes
26 Le seignur de Clifford y auera—xx hommes darmes
27[3] *Le Seignur de Clifford y auera—xx hommes darmes*
28 Le seignur de Furniual y auera—vj hommes darmes
29 Monsire Rauf de Bulmer y auera—iij hommes darmes

30 Monsire Johan de Haringtón—ij hommes darmes
31 Item des communes y auera—cccc hob'—$\frac{\text{Ml}}{\text{iiij}}$ archiers
32 Monsire Rauf de Hastinges—x hommes darmes
33 Monsire Gilbert de Aton—iij hommes darmes
34 Monsire Roger de Swynnerton—x hommes darmes
35 Monsire Johan Darcy sen'—xx hommes darmes
36 de houstel le Roi—x hommes darmes
37 Monsire *Will*[4] Simon Basset—ij hommes darmes

38 Monsire William de Cusance—ij hommes darmes

39 Monsire Wautier de Mauney et
40 Monsire Richard de Ekeneye } —vj hommes darmes
41 Monsire William de Harecourt
42 Monsire Richard de Harecourt } —vj hommes darmes
43 Monsire Thomas de Swynnerton
44 Monsire Johan Darcy le fiz } —vj hommes darmes
45 Monsire Richard Damary—iij hommes darmes

46 Monsire Johan de Isle—iij hommes darmes

[1] Lines 15–19 are struck through in the manuscript.
[2] Line 23 struck through.
[3] Line 27 struck through.
[4] Will *struck through*.

47[1] *De scaccario per manus domini Johannis Darcy sen' super*
vadiis guerre die anno xj–C marce. Inde soluit
48 *dominis Thome de Bradestone Simoni Basset et Willelmi de*
Cusance retentis super xiij homines ad arma existentes
49 *apud Novum Castrum/per aliquot dies mense Aprilis in fine et*
Maij et[2] *in principio anno xj° cum quibus computandum est*
per testimonium Thome de Vsflete[3]

comp'

[*Endorsed:*] Nomina hominum ad arma et sagittariorum
capitanei exercitus et aliorum magnatorum
Vsflete per testimonium Thome de Vsflete
anno xj°

APPENDIX II

SERVICE OF THE CONTRACTORS AND THEIR CONTINGENTS[4]

No. of line in P.R.O., E 101/15/17	*Name of leader*	*Men-at-arms*		*Period of service*	
		Promised	*Drawing wages*	*Beginning*	*End*
5	Angus, earl of	40	31	7 May	20 June
			10	21 June	30 Aug.
			9	31 Aug.	6 Nov.
			19	7 Nov.	18 Nov.
33	Aton, Sir Gilbert de	3	nil.		
37	Basset, Sir Simon	2	$\frac{17}{4}$[5]	7 May	13 June

[1]Lines 47–9 struck through.

[2]Et *del.*

[3]The payment to the three knights recorded in this footnote seems to have been for service done before the general muster of Warwick's army on 7 May (i.e. 'at the end of April and the beginning of May'). There is an entry on the Issue Roll for Easter Edw. III (no. 294 m. 9) of the payment on 16 May 1337 of 100 marks to the keeper of the wardrobe 'by the hands of John Darcy, banneret for ('super') his wages and those of his men-at-arms and hobelars staying with him for the king's war in Scotland'.

[4]Payments from May to Aug. and Lord Furnival's are recorded in Nero C. viii, fos. 245–61: all others from Sept. to Nov. are in P.R.O., E 101/388/5 mm. 12 and 13.

Temporary absences of individuals or small groups of men have been disregarded and, at times, when numbers fluctuated rapidly, an average has been given. The number of men-at-arms normally includes the leader.

[5]Basset, Bradstone, Cusance and Thomas Swynnerton are recorded as bringing a collective contingent of 13 squires.

No. of line in P.R.O., E101/15/17	*Name of leader*	*Men-at-arms*		*Period of service*	
		Promised	*Drawing wages*	*Beginning*	*End*
11	Biccell, of Werrington, Sir William	6/2	nil.		
16 (del.)	Bradstone, Sir Thomas de		17[1]/4	7 May	13 June
29	Bulmer, Sir Ralph de	3	nil.		
4	Carlisle, bishop of	20	43	13 June	14 Oct.
			falling gradually	15 Oct.	19 Nov.
26	Clifford, Lord	20	20	1 July	15 Aug.
			17	16 Aug.	30 Aug.
38	Cusance, Sir William de	2	17[1]/4	7 May	13 June
9	Dacre, Sir Randolf	20	15	13 June	30 Aug.
45	Damary, Sir Richard	3	nil.		
35	Darcy, Sir John, steward	20	27	7 May	25 June
36	of the king's household	10			
44	Darcy, Sir John, the son	6/2	nil.		
40	Eckney, Sir Richard de	6/2	nil.		
13	FitzRalph, Sir Randolf	6	nil.		
28	Furnival, Lord	6	6	25 Aug.	25 Sept.
42	Harcourt, Sir Richard de	6	nil.		
41	Harcourt, Sir William de				
30	Harrington, Sir John de	2	nil.		
32	Hastings, Sir Ralph de	10	10	17 May	17 June
46	Isle, Sir John de	3	nil.		
12	Lathom, Sir Thomas de	6/2	nil.		
22	Littlebury, Sir Robert de	12/3	3	7 May	18 June
39	Manny, Sir Walter de	6/2	12[2]	22 May	17 June
10	Meynell, Sir Nicholas	8	nil.		
20	Montague, Sir Edward de	12/3	nil.		

[1]Basset, Bradstone, Cusance and Thomas Swynnerton are recorded as bringing a collective contingent of 13 squires.

[2]With the king at Stirling (Nero C. viii, fo. 246v).

No. of lins in P.R.O., E 101/15/17	*Name of leader*	*Men-at-arms*		*Period of service*	
		Promised	*Drawing wages*	*Beginning*	*End*
25	Mowbray, Lord, to 7 June	20	44	31 May	30 June
	from 8 June	50	20	1 July	14 Aug.
			53	15 Aug.	30 Aug.
			50	31 Aug.	18 Nov.
21	Murdock, Sir Thomas	12/3	nil.		
8	Neville, Sir Ralph de	40	33	7 May	31 May
			48	1 June	30 Aug.
			62	31 Aug.	21 Sept.
			falling	22 Sept.	10 Nov.
			70	11 Nov.	5 Dec.
7	Percy, Lord	80	40	7 May	31 May
			50	1 June	30 Aug.
			60	31 Aug.	13 Sept.
			falling	14 Sept.	8 Nov.
			83	9 Nov.	19 Nov.
24	Roos, Lord	20	20	7 May	30 Aug.
34	Swynnerton, Sir Roger de	10	10	7 May	15 June
43	Swynnerton, Sir Thomas de	6/2	17[1]/4	7 May	13 June
14	Usflete, 'sire' Thomas	6	6	7 May	27 July
6	Wake, Lord	40	40	7 May	30 Aug.
			39	31 Aug.	12 Oct.
2–4	(Warwick, earl of)				
	Commander, 7 May–7 June	40	63	7 May	31 May
	from 8 June	120	117	1 June	30 Aug.
			112	31 Aug.	26 Sept.
			falling	27 Sept.	1 Nov.
			63	2 Nov.	19 Nov.
23 (del.)	Zouche, Sir William la	12/4	'with the earl of Warwick'		

APPENDIX III

Service of the County Levies

British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero C. viii, fos. 261–2

County	*Dates of service*	*Leaders*	*Hobelars*	*Horse archers*	*Foot-men*
Cumberland and Westmorland	30 May–15 June	14	458	70	22
	1–7 Sept.		52		
	6–14 Nov.		185		

[1]See p. 17, n. 1.

County	*Dates of service*	*Leaders*	*Hobelars*	*Horse archers*	*Foot-men*
Northumberland	2–15 June	4	580	12	1
	25 Aug.–18 Sept.			103	
	19–27 Sept.			118	
Durham	1–15 June	7	114	5	
	15 Aug.–18 Sept.		7	92	
Lancashire	26 May–10 June	4		154	
	15 Aug.–18 Sept.			398	210[1]
Yorkshire	7–19 May rising till	9	34		393
	2–15 June to	17	111		1048
	15 Aug.–18 Sept.				992[2]
	" "				231
Nottinghamshire	13 May–14 June	1			174[1]
	15 Aug.–18 Sept.				84[2]
Derbyshire	7 May–15 June	2			200[1]
	15 Aug.–18 Sept.				92[2]
					425

[1]Described as foot archers.

[2]Described simply as archers and, in the absence of any indication to the contrary, tabulated as footmen.

The Choice of a Speaker in 1705

ON 25 OCTOBER 1705 the house of commons assembled after a general election and proceeded to choose a Speaker. This was the only occasion in the reign of Queen Anne when the House had to decide between two candidates for the Chair, these being John Smith and William Bromley. 'After two hours debate, the division was 248 for Mr Smith's being Speaker, and 205 for Mr Bromley (for so everyone understands the negatives upon the question to be) excluding the two Tellers Sir Cha[rles] Hotham and Mr Freeman'.[1] Lord Treasurer Godolphin later analysed this division in the following terms: 'My computation runs thus: of the 450 that chose the Speaker, Tories 190, Whigs 160, Queen's servants 100, of the last about 15 perhaps joined with Tories in that vote of the Speaker, by which they mounted to 205 . . .'[2]

Until recently historians usually described the contest in similar terms. To W. T. Morgan it was 'a decisive test of strength between the court and Whigs on one side and the High Church Tories on the other', though he added that Robert Harley 'was able to conciliate a considerable number of moderate Tories and win their votes for Smith'.[3] Neither the late G. M. Trevelyan nor Sir Winston Churchill drew this distinction between High Church and moderate tories, seeing the issue simply as a contest between a 'Ministerial-Whig Coalition' and 'the Tories'.[4] Sir Keith Feiling concentrated more on Harley's difficulties in reconciling himself to the court's choice of Smith than on the general attitudes of the parties. On this issue he differed from Morgan, who saw Godolphin and Harley working 'in close co-operation' while he concluded that 'it was only on the eve of the session that Harley decided to support Smith's nomination and stand by the Treasurer'.[5] But apart from these details all four historians were in agreement in interpreting this election of a Speaker as an issue between parties.

The most recent published account of the contest, however, offers a more sophisticated analysis. Professor Walcott describes the situation thus:

> . . . in the choice of a new Speaker to succeed Harley and of a new Lord Keeper . . . Godolphin promoted men who, while not members of the Junto connection, were

[1] J. Bridges to Sir William Trumbull, 26 Oct. 1705. Berks[hire] R[ecord] O[ffice], Trumbull MSS. Vol. LIII (Bridges). I am grateful to his lordship the marquess of Downshire for giving permission to quote short extracts from this correspondence.

[2] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, iv. 291.

[3] W. T. Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne* (1920), pp. 123–5.

[4] G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne* (1930–4), ii. 86; W. S. Churchill, *Marlborough* (1933–8), iii. 30.

[5] K. Feiling, *History of the Tory Party* (1924), p. 389.

yet much friendlier to the Junto than the candidates favoured by Harley and the queen. Anne would have preferred a Churchman as Speaker, and the Finch and Hyde-Seymour groups did their best to oblige her; but the government and Junto joined forces and won over enough independent Whig members to elect the government candidate.[1]

Dr. Walcott is the only historian to claim that the queen would rather have had Bromley as Speaker than Smith. Where Morgan drew attention to a 'considerable number of moderate Tories' who were reconciled to the nomination of Smith by Harley, implying that they were a decisive factor in the division, Dr. Walcott attributes Smith's victory to the winning over of 'enough independent Whigs' by the court and the Junto. In keeping with his multi-party interpretation of early eighteenth-century politics he concentrates on the manoeuvres of the organized groups in the house of commons rather than describing the struggle in terms of whigs and tories. This analysis affects the whole significance of the struggle, for where before it was seen as a turning point in Godolphin's relations with the whig and tory parties, as a move towards the whigs after a failure to control the party violence of the tories, notably in their attempt to 'tack' the occasional conformity bill to the land tax bill in November 1704, on this view it signifies a re-arrangement in the balance of various party groups.

The existence of a complete list for this division provides an opportunity for testing each of these different interpretations, including Lord Godolphin's contemporary assessment. It also helps us to reach a conclusion on two other points which interested contemporary observers—the effect which absence on both sides had on the outcome, and the number of courtiers who voted against the court nominee.[2]

As soon as the results of the general election of 1705 were known, attempts were made to estimate the relative strengths of the groups in the new house of commons. Most agreed with the assessment sent to the earl of Portland: '—by the nearest computation can be made, the Whigs and Tories are equal, so that the Placemen will turn the Balance'.[3] With the forces in the House so evenly divided, the backers of both candidates for the Speaker's chair made strenuous efforts to ensure the maximum attendance of their supporters on the first day of the session. Thus Lord Thanet wrote to Colonel James Grahme, one of the members for Appleby, on 25 September:

By yours last post you say you will be in town a week before the meeting of the Parliament in compliance to my desire, but yet mention the choice of mayor and attendance at sessions which makes it impossible you should be here. If you had mentioned for some other reasons you desired not to be here, it had been more satisfactory to me, but the choice of mayor nor attendance at sessions are to come in balance with the choice of a good speaker and you have professed such a particular service for Mr Bromley and not a little for me that some performance on this occasion would prove the greatest kindness you could do yourself. I find by

[1] R. Walcott, *English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century* (1956), p. 116.
[2] See explanatory notes in the Appendix below, pp. 35–8.
[3] Nottingham University Library, Portland MSS. PWA 410.

your calculation you conclude Mr Bromley is sure of it, and so less necessary for you to be here, but by all they [*sic*] nice calculation, as well by Friends as others, it will be so near that one vote may save or lose it, and I should not be a little troubled if it should be lost by any person that my interest had been employed to promote his being of that assembly.[1]

Two weeks later Lord Paget was told that

the High Ch. party amongst us are very confident that Mr Bromley will be chosen Speaker of the house of Commons, and the Earl of Dysert being last week at Stafford declared in much company that they are assured Mr Bromley would be chosen, and that 250 members ingaged solemnly to appear the first day of the session and to vote for him. . . . . Sr Edw Bagott who was but last week confined to his bed by the Gout sets out this day towards London . . .[2]

Such efforts on Bromley's behalf enabled his supporters three days before the start of the session to hold 'a meeting of a great number of loyal church Parliamt men at ye Fountain Tavern in the Strand to consider of yeir strength for the choice of Mr Bromley to be Speaker'.[3] Nor were similar endeavours lacking on Smith's behalf, for Lord Orford informed Lord Somers of a conversation he had with the Worcestershire William Bromley 'about Mr Smith; he was not only for him, but flaming against his Namesake. He is now at London: When he comes down, I will not fail to talk with him on that Affair. Our Country Members will be early in Town. . . .'[4] The result of these activities was the presence of an enormous number of members at the opening of parliament. Evelyn noted in his diary 'There had never ben so greate an assembly of members on the first day of sitting'.[5] How phenomenal the attendance was appears from an analysis of the absentees in the list, for eighteen by-elections were pending, while at least nine members were abroad.[6] Consequently only thirty-three of the absentees at most could possibly have attended.

[1] MS. in the possession of Mrs. O. R. Bagot at Levens Hall, Westmorland. I am grateful to Mrs. Bagot for permission to consult and publish this document.

[2] MSS. of the marquess of Anglesey at Plas Newydd (Box 160). I am grateful to his lordship for permission to quote this letter, and to Mr. G. S. Holmes of Glasgow University for giving me a transcript of it. I also wish to thank Mr. Holmes for his helpful criticisms of this article.

[3] *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, ed. C. E. Doble and others (Oxford, 1885–1921) (hereafter cited as *Hearne*), i. 58.

[4] British Museum, Additional MS. 34521, fo. 63. (Mackintosh's transcript from the original now in New York Public Library (Hardwicke MS. No. 33). I wish to thank Mr. H. Horwitz of St. Antony's College, Oxford for this information.)

[5] *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer (1955), v. 614.

[6] Nine members were returned for two seats, necessitating new elections for those they vacated. Eight are indicated in the list by the word 'Double'. The ninth was Robert Dormer, whose return for Northallerton was overlooked by the compiler of the list. A seat was vacant at Brackley owing to the Hon. John Sidney becoming a peer in July, and another at Beeralston due to William Cowper being made lord keeper on 11 Oct. Seven members had died who are noted as being Dead in the list. To these might be added Sir William Blackett whose death brought about a by-election at Newcastle in Dec. 1705, and Thomas Mansell of

Right up to the division both sides were sure of carrying their candidate and laid odds on the outcome,[1] Smith's friends offering two to one on his success.[2] One of them, however, had his doubts. Six days before the voting Erasmus Lewis informed Henry Davenant that: 'The Election of the Speaker is still very uncertain, for at least twenty of Mr Smith's friends are absent'.[3] His figure is borne out by a study of the probable attitude of the absentees. Some had died between their election and the meeting of parliament. According to L'Hermitage: 'depuis que les elections sont faites il est mort 12 membres de Whigs'.[4] This was an exaggeration, for at most nine seats were vacant due to the deaths of their occupants, and of these four were almost certain to have voted for Smith, another four for Bromley, while the attitude of Sir Charles Shuckburgh is doubtful, for his passing was lamented by both sides.[5] Between nine and thirteen members were out of England, most of them serving in the armed forces. L'Hermitage calculated that a dozen of Smith's supporters were away on active service.[6] This estimate was probably accurate, for of the thirteen who might have been abroad, all were fairly certain to have voted for the court candidate except Viscount Windsor, who had declared for Bromley.[7] Twenty-nine were neither dead nor abroad. Two of these were present during the debate but withdrew before the division. Presumably these 'gentlemen of the long robe' would have preferred Bromley but did not care to risk the court's displeasure.[8] Two other members probably thought it prudent not

Britton Ferry whose death caused another at Cardiff in Feb. 1706. Emanuel Howe was in Hanover, John Methuen in Portugal, Lord Cutts in Ireland, James Stanhope in Spain, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir Stafford Fairborne and Sir John Jennings at sea, William Cadogan and Adam de Cardonell with Marlborough. Four others were also in the armed forces and were probably abroad: Thomas Stringer, John Shrimpton, Henry Mordaunt and Viscount Windsor.

[1] 'both sides are cocksure of their own speaker and bully one another with wagers daily'. J. Bridges to Sir William Trumbull, 12 Aug. 1705. Berks. R.O., Trumbull Add. MS. 98.

[2] *Hearne*, i. 58.

[3] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 4743 fo. 45.

[4] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17677 AAA fo. 487.

[5] Thomas Dore, Walter White and Wharton Dunch were Junto whigs, and Tanfield Vachell an independent whig. William Elson was a 'tacker'. Sir William Blackett, Thomas Mansell and Alexander Popham were tories, though Mansell might have sided with Harley. Lord Digby informing Edward Nicholas of Shuckburgh's death, claimed 'we have lost a vote we depended on for our countryman'. Brit. Mus., Egerton MS. 2540 fo. 136. Bromley himself lamented 'the melancholy news of the death of Sir Cha[rles] Shuckburgh'. Bodleian Libr., MS. Ballard 38 fo. 144. On the other hand Harley told Marlborough: 'Poor Sir Charles Shuckburgh died yesterday of an apoplexy. We shall want him in the House of Commons, for he was very right set to serve the Queen'. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 9094 fo. 184.

[6] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17677 AAA fo. 487.

[7] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cowper MSS.*, iii. 64. A. Hammond to T. Coke, 27 Sept. 1705.

[8] Sir Thomas Powys and John Conyers. See Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 4743 fo. 47.

to attend at all. One was Charles Churchill, the duke of Marlborough's brother, who as gentleman of the prince's bedchamber would have been expected by the court to vote for Smith. Since he had friends on Bromley's side others might have hoped that he would vote the other way. That he was in town is indicated by his presence on the list of those authorized by the lord steward to take oaths from members, so perhaps he solved the dilemma of which way to vote by not voting at all. The other was Richard Musgrave, who, though a tory, was under some obligation to Robert Harley.[1] Three 'tackers' failed to turn up for the division who could safely be numbered among Bromley's friends.[2] Of the rest, thirteen were most likely to have voted for him, and eight for his rival.[3] Thus the absentees were evenly divided between the two sides, and although Lewis calculated almost exactly the number of Smith's absent friends, their absence made no appreciable difference for even if all Bromley's supporters had attended to vote for him, the court candidate would still have gained the Chair.

Two hundred and six were in fact present to vote for Bromley, and of especial interest both to contemporaries and to historians was the number of courtiers who helped to make up this figure. Godolphin estimated 'about fifteen perhaps', while a newsletter of 27 October claimed 'about fifteen or sixteen'.[4] These estimates tally with the details given by John Bridges in a letter written to Sir William Trumbull the day after the division:

> The men in place that voted for Mr Bromley were: George Clarke, young Mr Graham, Tho[mas] Conyers, J. Butler, — Lee [*sic*], Col. Lutteril, Sir George Rooke, Mr George Morley, Charles Goring, the Ld Cheyne, Herbert comm[issione]r of the sick and wounded, Sir Gilbert Dolben, Sir John Bland, and two more whose names I've not yet learned.[5]

All these men are on the list of voters for Bromley, except J. Butler. This could be James Butler, M.P. for Arundel, whom the list records as voting for Smith, but there is no evidence of his holding any office at this time. It

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; *Journals of the House of Commons* (hereafter cited as *C.J.*), xv. 4. There were 35 M.P.s on this list, and all except Churchill have votes recorded here—12 of them for Bromley, including the teller Freeman. 'I was surprised to hear Cous. Musgrave was not in the House.' Gilfrid Lawson to Colonel James Grahme, Brayton, 6 Nov. 1705, Levens Hall MS. See also Brit. Mus., loan 29 (Portland)/151:15.

[2] Sir Richard Vivian, John Hoblin and Henry Manaton.

[3] Samuel Rolle, Charles Cox, John Woodhouse, Sir Thomas Mackworth, William Johnson, George Woodroft, Salway Winnington, Robert Benson, John Meyrick, Nathaniel Palmer, John Hicks, Sir Thomas Willoughby and Robert Orme usually voted tory; whether they would have voted for Bromley is a different matter. Some—e.g. Cox and Winnington—were friends of Harley and might have joined him on the court side. The 8 who would almost certainly have voted for Smith were: Sidney Godolphin, Richard Dowdeswell, Charles Stanley, James Sanderson, Viscount Woodstock, Sir William Thomas, Thomas Wentworth and Christopher Stockdale.

[4] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, iv. 268, 291.

[5] Berks. R.O., Trumbull MSS. Vol. LIII (Bridges).

almost certainly refers, therefore, to John Boteler, the Hythe M.P. omitted, apparently by accident, from the list of Bromley's voters, who was lieutenant-governor of Gravesend and Tilbury. Four other placemen appear on the list, making a total of seventeen.[1]

Various explanations have been offered for the behaviour of these courtiers. Thus Trevelyan stated: 'not all the supporters of Government had realized that they were expected to vote for a Whig Speaker . . .', while Sir Winston Churchill suggested that 'a number of Tory placemen were either genuinely unable to believe that the Court wished a Whig Speaker to be chosen, or else resented their instructions'.[2] In view of Sir Keith Feiling's assertion that Harley only reconciled himself to Smith's candidature at the eleventh hour, the possibility is worth exploring that their defection was in some way connected with the secretary's attitude. Then again if Dr. Walcott is correct in his assertion that the queen would have preferred a churchman then these men could have excused themselves on the grounds that they were following her inclination. These various possibilities make it necessary to settle three outstanding points: how and when Godolphin made known his choice of Smith: at what stage Harley and St. John reconciled themselves to this choice: whether or not the queen approved of it.

Now Smith was not the first man whom Godolphin had considered putting up for the Chair. First Harley had been approached, and when he refused to stand, Harcourt had been suggested, but he had failed to reconcile the churchmen to the ministry.[3] When Harley had been proposed 'some Whigs indeed declared against him', and there were signs of a *rapprochement* between them and the churchmen to agree on backing Bromley for the speakership.[4] In March Lord Cutts' brother informed a correspondent: 'Peter King and Ansley[5] with Bromley, &c., are reconciled, and have shaken hands to stand by each other next winter to oppose the iniquity of the times and promote the public welfare'.[6] In this situation Godolphin must have been thoroughly alarmed, especially when the suggestion that Harcourt might be Speaker failed to break up this alliance, for on the last occasion when two candidates had contested the Chair, less than four years before,

[1] These were: Lord Cheyne, clerk of the Pipe: George Clarke, secretary to the prince's council: Thomas Conyers, equerry to the prince: Henry Lee, commissioner of victualling: Richard Wynn, a Welsh judge: Sir Gilbert Dolben, judge of the common pleas in Ireland: Alexander Luttrell, lieutenant-colonel of marines: Sir George Rooke, vice-admiral: Sir George Parker, sub-commissioner of Prizes: Charles Goring, sub-commissioner of Prizes: Henry Grahme, gentleman of the prince's bedchamber: John Gauntlett, clerk of the signet: George Morley, commissioner of Prizes: Sir John Bland, commissioner of the Irish customs: Philip Herbert, commissioner of the sick and wounded: John Boteler, lieutenant-governor of Gravesend and Tilbury: Lord Bulkeley, constable of Beaumaris Castle.

[2] Trevelyan, ii. 86; Churchill, iii. 30.

[3] Feiling, p. 389; Morgan, p. 123.

[4] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, iv. 248.

[5] ? Annesley.

[6] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Frankland—Russell—Astley MSS.*, p. 176.

the court candidate had lost it.[1] There was little he could then do, however, but await anxiously the results of the election. Then at the end of June he received a letter from Marlborough who, after expressing concern at the number of 'tackers' who had secured their seats, told him that he had

> begged of the Queen . . . in my letter, that She shou'd be pleas'd for Her own Sake, and the good of Her Kingdom, to advise early with You, what incoragement might be proper to give the Whigs, that they might look upon it as their own Concern, to beat down and oppose all such proposals as may prove uneasy to Her Maty's government . . .[2]

If Godolphin hesitated to put this plan into operation, the publication early in July of *The Memorial of the Church of England*, which was in effect a declaration of war between the 'tackers' and the ministry, might well have urged him to implement it,[3] for on 25 July a London correspondent informed Lord Portland:

> The Lord T[reasurer] hath declared himself for Mr Smith to be Speaker (and on this occasion as I am assured) some of the warm Whigs have given out to have Mr Bromley as the fittest man to pursue their sentiments in the House, and this in order to lay by the court's thoughts of Mr Harley, whom the Honest Ws will no longer endure, upon this, somebody was roused and ordered about 30 of the principal officers of the crown, by summons, to meet Wednesday last at the chancellors of the Exchequer; where the Ld T met them; and told them there was a partye that nothing would satisfy but wresting the Administration out the Queen's hands, vizt. the Tackers; but he thought in such a conjuncture they could not do the Queen or their country better service than in choosing Mr Smith for their Speaker; whom he recommended to them as a very honest Gentleman, and expected they would all recommend him likewise to their friends in the country; and further that it might be objected that he was of the W. party, but assured them that he had found those under that character, tho' under no obligations to the Government, yet to have been hearty friends to it and for supporting her Majesty's administration. This has given new life and vigor to those Honest Gentlemen, who pretend at least to their country's true Interest.[4]

No time was lost in making this choice public. L'Hermitage wrote on 27 July that the court had signified its readiness to support Smith.[5] On 1 August the duke of Newcastle wrote from the country: 'The same letters which told me ten days ago of Mr Smith's being fixed upon for Speaker said the Parliament would sit the beginning of November.'[6] Godolphin had done what he could to make obvious the court's choice.

For some time St. John and Harley resented this decision. St. John lamented to Marlborough on 27 July that 'Her Majesty having been

[1] In Dec. 1701 when Harley defeated Littleton by 4 votes. See Feiling, p. 356.
[2] Printed in Churchill, iii. 24.
[3] *Hearne*, i. 3.
[4] The letter endorsed 'Mr Eyles' in the duke of Portland's deposit of MSS. in Nottingham Univ. Libr., PWA 410. I am grateful to his Grace for allowing me to publish this document.
[5] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 17677 AAA fo. 387.
[6] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, iv. 215.

pleased to direct her servants to promote all they can Mr Smith's advancement to the chair of the House of Commons makes it too late to wish for another'.[1] Harley was anxious that Smith should appear as the court and not as a party candidate.[2] But their misgivings do not appear to have gone as deep or to have lasted as long as Sir Keith Feiling asserted. There is no hint of holding off from Godolphin's choice in Harley's letters to Baron Price and Sir Robert Davers, in which he puts the blame for the decision on to the intransigence of the tories themselves, adding for good measure:

I have honestly warned them, I have publicly and privately foretold them the consequences of what they were doing; but tares have been sown in the wheat, and impracticable measures suggested by those, who whatever else they meant, did not intend the public good—.

This must be a reference to the 'tack'.[3] St. John reconciled himself early to the choice of Smith. On 25 August he wrote to Colonel Grahme: 'Here are some thorough points to be managed very early which your assistance will be wanted in. . . . I can assure you Sir Roger [i.e. Harley], Sir William [i.e. Godolphin] and all your friends expect you'.[4] Later he expostulated with Thomas Coke: 'Unless gentlemen can show that her[5] administration puts the Church or the State in danger, they must own the contest to be about persons: and if it be so, can any honest man hesitate which side to take'.[6] Harley decided to co-operate wholeheartedly at least a month before the division, for Anthony Hammond informed Coke on 27 September that 'Mr H——y[7] solicited earnestly for Mr Sm——h[8] and attributed the coming in of the Tories to his influence'.[9] If there is any truth in Oldmixon's gossipy and confused tale about Harley having a new edition of Bromley's book *Remarks on the Grand Tour* published just before the session, then the Secretary went to considerable lengths in these solicitations by distributing copies to members to get them to vote for the court candidate.[10] Finally in the critical days before the session he and Godolphin were certainly, as

[1] W. Coxe, *Memoirs of John duke of Marlborough* (new edn., 1847–8), i. 349.

[2] See his letter to Godolphin of 4 Sept. 1705. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Bath MSS.*, i. 74–5. He agreed 'That the Queen hath chosen rightly which party she will take in.' His concern was that Smith's party 'ought not to think they have imposed him upon the Court, but take it as a grace that they have him from the Queen's influence'. Though there is no conclusive evidence, Harley seems to have won his point. No sign remains of any direct dealings between the court and the leaders of the Junto in the negotiations preceding the debate, and the court relied on men to manage the nomination of Smith who, though friendly to the Junto, were not prominent members of that connexion. The Junto supported the court, not vice versa.

[3] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, iv. 223, 261.

[4] Levens Hall MS.

[5] I.e. her Majesty's.

[6] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cowper MSS.*, iii. 63.

[7] I.e. Harley.

[8] I.e. Smith.

[9] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cowper MSS.*, iii. 64.

[10] J. Oldmixon, *The History of England* etc. (1735), p. 345. Oldmixon's story occurs during his narrative of the 'tack', and has Harley opposing Bromley for the Chair. Despite this confusion the tale is worth repeating. 'This Mr Bromley

Morgan asserted, in close co-operation. On 21 October the treasurer wrote to him detailing last minute plans for the contest: 'Mr Churchill tells me Col Lee is in town, he has spoken to him; but you must speak to him too. I have spoken myself with Mr Brewer this morning'. Despite this approach to Lee, he was one of the placemen who voted for Bromley, so that his action at least was defiant, whilst Brewer supported the government. This letter, too, arranged for a meeting to plan the management of the debate: 'If it be an objection that a Speaker should not be proposed by any in the Queen's service, I suppose that may be easily avoided by a meeting beforehand of those who will join heartily in carrying on the Queen's service and the public business . . .'[1]

The way that the debate was managed by the court ought to have removed any doubts that might have lingered in the minds of some court tories about the government's intentions. Godolphin organized Smith's nomination through Walpole and his friends. Lord Granby proposed him and Sir John Holland seconded.[2] Neither of these was a placeman, so apparently Godolphin had arranged to forestall any opposition the tories might make on that score. The other speakers were Sir Charles Turner, Robert Walpole, Sir William Strickland and the marquis of Hartington, the teller being Sir Charles Hotham. This was a fine battalion of whigs, and Harley alone among the court tories spoke directly on Smith's behalf, but his speech was a significant contribution to the debate.

Sir Edward Seymour amongst other things said that matters were brought to that pass that a man of very small abilities might be able to supply the Chair; & that it was but very lately that the House had made choice of a Privy Councillor etc. this latter part called up Mr Secretary Harley to show that it was so far from being of late date that it had generally been otherwise & particularly that the worthy member whom he answered after he had been made a Privy Councillor had the honour to sit in that chair.[3]

writ and printed a Book of his Travels, which was so full of Trifles and Impertinences, that the Book was called in almost as soon as published, if ever it had a Regular Publication. Mr Robert Harley being apprehensive of his Rivalling him in the Speaker's chair, by a superior Interest in High church, having one of these printed copies by him, reprinted it upon that occasion; and to all that come to his House about that time, he said, Have you not seen Mr B——y's Travels? Being answered in the negative, he went into a back Parlour, where this Impression of it lay, fetch'd it out, and gave every one a copy, till that matter was made up, and his Election secured.' For a brief description of the 1705 edition of Bromley's *Travels* see Trevelyan, ii. 86 note.

[1] This important letter is misdated 21 May 1704 in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Bath MSS.*, i. 57. It is clear from the contents that it must be 1705, and from the original at Longleat, which has been consulted, that it has been wrongly endorsed. Godolphin wrote it on 'Sunday the 21st' October 1705.

[2] Not Walpole, as in W. Cobbett, *Parliamentary History* (1806–12), vi. 450; A. Boyer, *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne digested into Annals* (1703–13), iv. 181–2: see *C.J.*, xv. 5; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rutland MSS.*, ii. 183.

[3] J. Bridges to Sir William Trumbull, 26 Oct. 1705. Berks. R.O., Trumbull MSS. Vol. LIII (Bridges).

By opposing the veteran leader of the tories Harley gave a clear indication of which way he was committed. All the managers on the other side were 'tackers', and not one placeman among them. Bromley was proposed by Lord Dysert and seconded by Sir Thomas Hanmer. Those who spoke for him were Seymour, Sir William Drake, Frederick Herne, Arthur Annesley and Sir Roger Mostyn, the teller being Ralph Freeman. By the time the division was called, therefore, the issue had been clearly drawn.[1]

There remains only one possible excuse for the defection of seventeen queen's servants—that they were serving the queen in voting for Bromley. Now Anne's approval had been implicit in all the transactions of the court from July to October. There is evidence that she made this explicit, and I have found none to support Dr. Walcott's claim that she would have preferred a churchman as Speaker. On 10 August John Ward informed Colonel Grahme: 'Mr Smith—being agreed on by the Court—has kissed the Queen's hands wch is a broad sign to you old courtiers'.[2] Morgan noted that 'the Queen in person interfered by writing to Lady Bathurst to persuade her son to vote for Mr Smith'.[3] Ten days before the division an outside observer was left in no doubt about the situation:

> her Majesty having now, more than ever before, devoted herself and interest to the Whigs, the Torys have no hopes of being succesfull in allmost anything they'l propose, during this parliament, and will be foiled in the very beginning by Smith's (a Whigish lawyer) being elected Speaker.[4]

Clearly the courtiers who voted for Bromley could plead neither that they were ignorant of the court's or Harley's intentions, nor that they were following the queen's inclinations, as excuses for their behaviour. It was deliberate defiance. Consequently it can only be concluded that party loyalty proved stronger than court discipline with these men.

No organized design is apparent behind their rebellion, for apart from their offices no common link seems to have held them together. They were not adherents of any recognizable connexion in the house of commons, and certainly not Harleyites, which is a further indication that Harley stood firmly by Godolphin. Only three of them can be placed in the Finch interest described by Dr. Walcott, and it is doubtful if this group had any real cohesion after its leader resigned from office in 1704.[5] None can be said to have belonged to his Hyde-Seymour group. On the subject of the relationship between interests and behaviour in the House it is interesting to observe that George Clarke not only jeopardized his job by voting as he did, but also defied his patron, Bishop Trelawny, who had brought him in at East Looe.

[1] For the speakers see Cobbett, vi. 450; for proposers, seconders and tellers *C.J.*, xv. 5.

[2] Levens Hall MS.

[3] Morgan, p. 124; cf. *Letters of Two Queens*, ed. B. Bathurst [1925], pp. 262–3.

[4] George Lockhart to the duke of Athole, London, 15 Oct. 1705. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Athole MSS.*, p. 62.

[5] Henry Lee, Sir Gilbert Dolben and Henry Grahme.

Clarke, who admitted in his autobiography that his vote was mutinous, was sacked immediately,[1] but Godolphin was careful not to proceed too hastily against his fellow culprits, telling Harley a few hours after the vote: 'I am sorry so many of our friends have played the fool, but unless we have a mind to do so too, it must not be resented'.[2] The majority had not been great enough for the government to indulge in wholesale dismissals, especially when many army officers had helped to produce it, whose presence would be needed abroad as well as in the House at some time during the sitting of parliament. Godolphin therefore waited until after the session before employing the axe, but it was applied heavily when the session closed on 19 March 1706 until by 1707 only five of the rebels still held their places.[3]

About thirty-seven of the rest of Bromley's supporters owed their seats to electoral proprietors, sixteen of whom can be grouped under Dr. Walcott's heading of the Finch connexion, a further fifteen into his Hyde-Seymour interest.[4] The remaining six did not make up any distinct

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Leyborne-Popham MSS.*, p. 283. Apparently Clarke's continuance in office had been in doubt for some time. There was a rumour in September that he would resign in order to feel free to vote for Bromley. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cowper MSS.*, iii. 64. The government insisted that his dismissal had been intended before the debate took place: 'Tis pretended the Prince signed the warrant for his dismission on Wedn. the day before the session.' Berks. R.O., Trumbull Add. MS. no. 98. See also the newsletter in Hist. MSS. Comm., *Portland MSS.*, iv. 268.

[2] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Bath MSS.*, i. 79.

[3] The five who remained in office were Dolben, Gauntlett, Herbert, Boteler and Lord Bulkeley. Bland was removed in Apr. 1706, Parker, Goring and Morley followed him in May, Conyers, Lee and Wynn in June, Grahme in July, Rooke in Oct. and Lord Cheyne in Dec. Colonel Luttrell resigned his regiment of marines in Feb. 1706. N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* (Oxford, 1857), vi. 18, 42, 50, 54, 66, 97, 113. Thomas Conyers received news of his dismissal in a letter from the earl of Bridgewater written from Windsor on 18 June 1706. This letter is endorsed: 'Mr Conyers dismission from the Prince of Denmark for not voting with the Court'. Durham, The Prior's Kitchen, Baker Baker Collection 8:20.

[4] *Finch connexion:* James Grahme and William Harvey on Lord Thanet's interest in Westmorland, Thynne, Cornwall and Girdler on Lord Weymouth's in Weymouth, Weobley and Tamworth; Charles, Henry and Robert Bertie on Lord Abingdon's in Woodstock and Westbury, Halford on Lord Nottingham's in Rutland, Dodington and Francis Greville on Lord Brooke's in Warwick; Jeffryes on the Bruce interest in Marlborough, Sharp on his father the archbishop's in Ripon, Henry Bertie and Wynn on Lord Bulkeley's in Anglesey and Carnarvon, and Ward on the Legh interest in Newton, Lancs.

Seymour connexion: Pole, Pinnel, Scobel and Manley on Lord Granville's interest in Cornwall, Lord Hyde, Carey and Gwyn on Lord Rochester's in Launceston and Christchurch, Snell, Mackworth and Coulson on Sir Edward Seymour's in Exeter and Totnes, Fownes on Bankes' at Corfe Castle, Annesley, Rigby, Bellot and Cotton on Lord Gower's in Preston and Newcastle-under-Lyme.

Documentation of electoral interests here and elsewhere in the article would be too detailed. Many of them are described in Walcott. Besides electoral influence Walcott sees family and like ties as factors behind the formation of groups. While this is a valid case I believe that he has considerably overstated it. Unless additional

group.[1] By far the greater part of his voters, however, were independents—that is members, mostly country gentlemen, who either secured their own returns or were elected on a combination of interests too complex to be described as patronage. Many of these would look to prominent politicians like Sir Edward Seymour for leadership in the House, but their votes were at nobody's disposal, for they owed neither place to the court nor seat to a patron.

The voting records of those listed as voting for Bromley are very interesting. Unfortunately we do not know precisely who opposed the motion to 'tack' the occasional conformity bill to the land tax bill on 28 November 1704, since no reliable list exists. Doubtless many who had voted against the 'tack' voted for Bromley in this division. However, the known votes of his supporters reveal a remarkable consistency. Apart from John Smith, who exchanged courtesy votes with his rival as usual in a division over the speakership, only thirty-one are to be found on whig lists at other times in Anne's reign, and all but twelve of these are accounted for by a single deviation over the Treaty of Commerce with France in 1713.[2] Besides Bromley himself there were eighty-five 'tackers' in the House who voted solidly for their leader, providing a nucleus of staunch party men for the rest to group around. Not one of the 206 other than Smith could be described as whig at the time of the division.

Turning to those who voted for Smith we find eighty-one placemen in their ranks, a figure close to the number of queen's servants who, on Godolphin's calculation, stayed firm to the court.[3] The voting habits of

evidence is provided, family relationship in itself is no proof of the existence of common political bonds, and has been ignored here. Thus to some extent the accounts of interests in this article represent their minimum strength.

[1] Garrard on the Drake interest at Amersham, Sir Henry Seymour on Bishop Trelawny's at East Looe, Powell on the duke of Beaufort's in Monmouth, Webb on Lord Poulett's in Ilchester, Nicholas on Lord Pembroke's in Wilton and Robinson on Sir Richard Middleton's in Denbigh.

[2] The 12 were: Shakerley, the two Heines, Pitt, Cornwall, Heysham, Thomas Johnson, Dominique, Child, Ashburnham, Pugh and Mostyn.

[3] Viscount Fitzharding; teller of the exchequer: Richard Topham; contractor for royal rents: Sir Richard Temple; colonel of a regiment of foot: Charles Godfrey; clerk of the Green Cloth: James Chase; apothecary to the court: Hugh Boscawen; groom of the prince's bedchamber: William Bridges; surveyor-general of the ordnance: Russell Roberts; groom of the prince's bedchamber: Henry Vincent; commissioner of the victualling: Francis Robartes; teller of the exchequer: Thomas Dodson; major: Francis Godolphin; cofferer of the household: Sir Charles Hedges; secretary of state: James Craggs; secretary of the ordnance: James Vernon; teller: Sir Philip Meadowes; knight marshal: Sir Simon Harcourt; solicitor general: Francis Godfrey; colonel of foot: Sir Joseph Tredenham; comptroller of army accounts: Thomas Stanwix; captain in the army: Sir James Montague; queen's counsel: Thomas Coke; teller: Charles Trelawny; governor of Plymouth: Sir George Byng; vice-admiral: Anthony Henley; a pensioner of £1,000 p.a.: Edward Nicholas; treasurer to the prince: Thomas Erle; governor of Portsmouth: Lord Walden; commissary general of musters: John Ellis; comptroller of the mint: Henry Ireton; lieutenant-colonel: James Brydges; paymaster: Lord Coningsby;

these men are worth close consideration. Eighteen of them are to be found on tory lists at other times in Anne's reign, while a further seven had voted tory in William's reign.[1] Such inconsistency might be expected of placemen like William Lowndes, who as secretary to the treasury was a staunch supporter of any ministry. But not all twenty-five can be accounted for in this way, for no fewer than nineteen never cast another whig vote.[2] These were the court tories, led by Harley and St. John. When nearly the same number mutinied, it is clear that their allegiance could not be taken for granted. Harley himself, as we have seen, had his doubts, and must have felt uneasy on receiving a letter from Sir Robert Davers who told him on 11 October: 'This much I know, my friends, & they were yours once, do think you have left them but more of that when we meet'.[3] Firmer pressure

paymaster in Ireland: Edward Harley; auditor of the imprest: George Churchill; prince's council of admiralty: Thomas King; lt. governor of Sheerness: Arthur Moore; comptroller of army accounts: Henry Boyle; chancellor of the exchequer: Roger Townsend; colonel: Robert Walpole; prince's council: George Montague; auditor of the exchequer: Sir John Delaval; captain in the guards: Samuel Ogle; commissioner of the Irish revenues: Edmund Mayne; governor of Berwick: Sir William Forrester; clerk of the Green Cloth: Henry Brett; colonel of foot: Charles Mason; captain of foot: William Blathwayt; auditor and secretary of Plantations: Sir Thomas Travel; captain of a troop of horse: Lord William Powlet; Farmer of the Green Wax: George Rodney Bridges; a pensioner in Ireland £2,000 p.a.: Anthony Morgan; officer in the horse guards: Sir William Gifford; commissioner of the navy: Henry Worseley; lieutenant-colonel of foot: William Ettrick; counsel to the admiralty: Henry Paget; prince's council: Walter Chetwynd; master of the buckhounds: Sir Joseph Jekyll; chief justice of Chester: Sir Thomas Felton; master of the household: Robert Wroth; lieutenant-colonel of horse: Sir Thomas Littleton; treasurer of the navy: Edmund Dummer; contractor for packet boats: Edward Ash; controller of customs at Plymouth: Thomas Farington; brigadier-general: Henry St. John; secretary at war: Charles Cocks; clerk of the patents: the marquis of Hartington; captain of the yeomen of the guard: Anthony Duncombe; commissioner of Prizes: William Palmes; a pensioner of £1,000 p.a.: Sir Thomas Frankland; postmaster general: Sir Godfrey Copley; comptroller of army accounts: Sir Charles Hotham; colonel of foot: William Lowther; gentleman of the Privy Chamber: John Pulteney; clerk of the council in Ireland: Matthew Aymler; a pensioner of the navy: Josiah Burchett; secretary to the admiralty: John Brewer; treasurer of the Prize office: Walter Whitfield; paymaster of marines: Edward Southwell; Secretary of Ireland: William Lowndes; secretary of the treasury: Thomas Mansell; comptroller of the household: Robert Harley; secretary of state. Information on offices held by members has been culled mainly from *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; J. Chamberlayne, *The Present State of England* (1704); Boyer, vol. iv; Luttrell, vols. v and vi; and *A List of Gentlemen that are in offices, Employment etc.* (Cambridge, 1705). Much of this information is to be found readily available in Walcott, pp. 161 ff.

[1] Dodson, Hedges, Tredenham, Trelawny, Brett, Duncombe and Copley.

[2] The seven in n. 1 above together with Harcourt, Nicholas, Edward Harley, King, Moore, Ettrick, Paget, St. John, Gifford, Southwell, Mansel, and Robert Harley. Thomas Coke and James Brydges might be placed in this group as friends of St. John, though their voting records reflect court rather than party affiliations.

[3] Brit. Mus., loan 29 (Portland)/133:5.

was brought to bear on less prominent placemen. Thus Lord Digby warned Edward Nicholas on 10 October:

> Br[omley] is gone up I believe, & has been told by several he may depend upon your vote. I hope he will not be deceived, for your sake. for this I find will be made the test of men's integrity: & your opinion is so well known, & if your vote should not go with it, the world will ascribe it to something that is not very honourable.[1]

For these nineteen men the pull of the court was more powerful than the pull of party, and to their numbers must be added another eight of Smith's supporters whose only other known party votes were tory, six of whom were family and personal adherents of Harley and St. John—the sum total of 'moderate Tories' whom they managed to conciliate.[2] Though by no means the considerable number that Morgan claimed, they were a vital factor in the contest, for if all twenty-seven of these tories who supported the court candidate had in fact gone over to the other side, then Bromley would have gained the Chair. This vindicated James Craggs' assessment of the situation, who upon hearing the tory boast that 250 members had promised Bromley their vote, told Marlborough 'there is not above 200 at the most that he can be sure of if those in the Queen's service be firm to Mr Smith'.[3] Bromley's own comment on this is extremely interesting:

> —notwithstanding the Whigs and Court joining to keep me out of the Chair, and the greatest violence towards the members, turning out some, and threatening others, to influence their votes, I had the honour, (and I shall ever esteem it a greater honour than my competitor's success) to have the suffrages of 205 disinterested gentlemen for me; such a number as never lost such a question before; and such as, with the addition of those that by force, and with the greatest reluctance voted against me, must have prevailed for me.[4]

Fortunately for Smith, court discipline, though weak, managed to keep them on his side, revealing how delicately the courtiers held the balance in this parliament. As Godolphin informed Harley 'the majority of this day has not been so great but that it will concern the Court, not to be either negligent or imprudent; any false step will easily spoil this session'.[5]

Of the other members of the court party, no less than forty-seven are to be found voting consistently whig in Anne's reign, some with such remarkable regularity that their party loyalty must have been at least as strong as their devotion to the court on this occasion. Indeed several of them owed

[1] Brit. Mus., Egerton MS. 2540 fo. 136.

[2] George Granville, John Laugharne, Thomas Harley and the three Foleys were personal adherents of Harley and St. John. John Mounsteven owed his seat at West Looe to Bishop Trelawny. Thomas Medlicot was a client of the duke of Ormonde, lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

[3] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 9094 fo. 197.

[4] Bromley's own note on the fly leaf of his copy of the 1705 edition of his *Remarks on the Grand Tour* (*etc.*). *Bibliotheca Parriana* (1827), p. 702.

[5] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Bath MSS.*, i. 79.

their seats to the efforts of the Junto and their adherents.[1] These were not so much court whigs as whig courtiers. In fact only seventeen at most of these queen's servants could be regarded as courtiers with no party ties—the voting records of the rest show them to have been as much partymen as placemen. Among the remaining members who voted for Smith, forty-eight owed their returns directly to the efforts of electoral proprietors.[2] As on Bromley's side, the greater number were independent of court or patron, though many would normally follow the lead of the Junto in parliament. Only five of them were recorded as casting tory votes on other occasions in the reign,[3] the rest appearing on whig lists where they have other party votes on record.

In comparing this division list with others which have survived from Anne's reign we can see the presence in the house of commons in 1705 of a considerable number of members who voted consistently along party lines. Some ninety-nine do not appear on any other reliable party lists in the period 1702–14, but since the House was so unusually full, and since forty-two of these sat for this parliament only, from which no other reliable party list survives, this figure is not surprisingly large.[4] What is perhaps surpris-

[1] Temple, Godfrey, Chase, Stanwix, J. Montague, Burridge, Ireton, G. Montague, Ld. Powlet, Mayne, Bridges, Jekyll, Littleton, Farington and Cocks.

[2] *The Junto interest:* R. Dormer, Denton, F. Dormer, Witteronge, Mayne, Hustler and Yorke on Lord Wharton's interest in Bucks. and Yorks.: Cullen and Bromley on Orford's in Cambs.: Harvey on Somers' in Reigate: Borlase, Gracedieu, Phippard, Weston, F. Shepheard, Burrard, Powlett and Wollaston on Bolton's in Devon, Dorset and Hants: Goetwick, Farrer and Monoux on Bedford's in Beds.: Cope and Edgcombe on the Treby interest in Plympton: Compton on Lord Cornwallis' in Eye: Sandford on Carlisle's in Morpeth.

Other interests: A. Churchill, Thornaugh, Peyton, Monkton and Jessop on Newcastle's in Dorchester, Notts. and Yorks.: Hodges and Fortescue on Bishop Trelawny's in Michael: Pulteney on Henry Guy's in Heydon: Whichcot and Bertie on Lindsey's in Lincs.: Lord Cavendish on Devonshire's in Derby: Molesworth on Radnor's in Lostwithiel: Lamplugh on Somerset's in Cockermouth: Egerton on Bridgewater's in Brackley: Peter King on Stamford's in Beeralston: Cropley on Shaftesbury's in Shaftesbury: Manners and Ellis on Rutland's in Grantham: Chambers and Bacon on Townshend's in Norwich: Strode on Poulett's in Ilchester: Paine on Pelham's in Lewes: Monson on Ashe's in Heytesbury.

[3] John Borlase, James Worseley, John Ward, John Aislabie and Sir Roger Bradshaigh.

[4] The only other known document which divides this 1705 parliament into parties is a pamphlet printed in that year entitled *A Numerical calculation of the Honourable Mem——rs as were elected for the Ensuing Parl——nt.* This classifies the members into seven groups on a strange 'confessional' basis of 'Churchmen', 'True Church', 'High Ch[urch] C[ourtie]rs,' 'L[ow] Ch[urch] C[ourtie]rs', 'L[ow] C[hurc]h', 'N[o] C[hurch]' and 'Sn[eake]rs'. The copy usually referred to is Brit. Mus., Stowe MS. 354 fos. 161–2. There is another copy in the Osborne papers: Brit. Mus., Egerton MS. 3345 (2): which was endorsed by the duke of Leeds 'a list of Parliamt men in 1705 distinguisht very imperfectly and untruly'. Because of the odd classifications and this assessment of its value by one who should have known, no use has been made of this remarkable list here.

ing is the small number whose voting habits were irregular. Only thirty-one tories are known to have voted whig on other occasions in the reign, and only twelve before 1713, though if we knew which tories had opposed the 'tack' in the previous session this pattern would probably require substantial modification. The whig record is much more impressive, for several tories voted for Smith, but not a single whig voted for Bromley, and only five ever cast a tory vote. This substantiates the view that the whig party was far better disciplined than the tory party in this period. Even in the court party we find a number of party stalwarts—tories whose vote for Smith is the only known whig vote that they ever cast, and whigs who never voted any other way.

Nobody could claim that these were the only divisions in the house of commons. Groups based on interest and personal connexions existed which could on occasion retain their separate identities, as the Harleyites did here. The large number of independents could find a common platform on a country issue against the court, as indeed they did later in this session in the struggle over the place clause in the Regency Bill. Their numbers prompted Harley to analyse the results of the general election of 1705 thus: 'I take it for granted that no party . . . can carry it . . . without the Queen's servants join with them; . . . The embodying of gentlemen (country gentlemen I mean) against the Queen's service is what is to be avoided'.[1] In adopting the whig John Smith as the court candidate for the Speaker's chair Godolphin avoided this situation arising at the outset of the new parliament by making the speakership a party issue. For as this list reveals, when a party issue was before the House these other divisions were largely submerged in those of whig and tory. Consequently the promotion of Smith for the Chair signified more than a readjustment of groups: it marked a decisive shift in the government's parliamentary policy from a tory to a whig scheme.

W. A. SPECK

APPENDIX

The list printed below is among the papers of Thomas Conyers which form part of the Baker Baker collection in the Prior's Kitchen, Durham. I am grateful to the archivist Mr. J. E. Fagg for drawing my attention to it. Thomas Conyers was M.P. for Durham in the parliament of 1705–1708. As equerry to Prince George he was one of the courtiers who defied the court on 25 October 1705 by voting for William Bromley in the division over the choice of a Speaker, and he was subsequently dismissed for this action. Though the list was drawn up by somebody else, he made several additions to it. He placed the queries against the names of John Borlase, Thomas Foley, Thomas King, Walter Chetwynd, Richard Payne, Edward Foley and Thomas Harley in the column of those who voted for Smith, the word 'DEAD' against the name of Sir Charles Shuckburgh and the name of 'MR ARCHER' below in the column of absentees. He also altered the spelling of Fawns to 'FOUNDS' and transferred the name of William Nicholas from the

[1] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Bath MSS.*, i. 74–5.

column of those who voted for Smith to that of those who voted for Bromley. Thus the list owed its final form to one who was present at the time of the debate and who played a significant part in the division.

Nevertheless it contains certain peculiarities. The names of 517 men occur in it when the total number of members for England and Wales was only 513. Furthermore two members were overlooked when it was compiled. Robert Dormer was returned for both Buckinghamshire and Northallerton in the election of 1705, and chose to represent the county. The resulting vacancy in Northallerton has been ignored. The name of John Boteler, M.P. for Hythe in this parliament, is missing too. This appears to have been an oversight on the part of the compiler of the list, for he placed only four barons of the Cinque ports in the column of those who voted for Bromley, and yet wrote the figure five below them. When Dormer and Boteler are added to the 517 names in the list we are left with six more members than the total for England and Wales. This is due to the presence in it of one man who was not a member at the time of the division, and of five who were on double returns with other members and whose names were eventually removed from the file. Although Sir Charles Shuckburgh died before the opening of parliament, Andrew Archer did not replace him as member for Warwickshire until 25 November 1705, so that Conyers added his name prematurely. Sir Simon Leach (Okehampton), Charles Cox (Cirencester), Thomas Blofield and Thomas Palgrave (Norwich) and Viscount Grandisson (Old Sarum) were returned doubly with five other members at the general election. When the merits of these returns were decided the other five were declared the sitting members, and these five were declared not duly elected. Until this was done none of the ten concerned ought to have sat in the House. That they are listed as voting here presumably reflects the confusion of the opening of a new parliament in which such irregularities would be overlooked.

It is unfortunate that despite Conyers' corrections the list does not fit the division exactly. The column of those who voted for Smith contains 250 names, which is one name too many. It is impossible to tell who was the odd man out though it might have been one of the seven queried by Conyers. There are 206 names in the column of those who voted for Bromley, which fits until the oversight of John Boteler is corrected, when once again we have one name too many. Although it would have appeared more satisfactory if the list had contained the exact number, strict numerical accuracy is not a normal feature of division lists which have survived from this period, and an error of only two names does not destroy the value of this one.

Both the list and Conyers' additions to it are in ink. The names which have dots against them in the columns of Smith's supporters and of absentees appear to be those of tory members in each category. Somebody has added in pencil the marks +, /, _/ and ∠ against some of the names, and the figures at the bottom of the folios adding up these symbols. The symbol + occurs only in the column of those who voted for Smith, and seems to be a guide to the tories who supported him. The mark / occurs in both columns of voters and might indicate courtiers. The marks ∠ and _/ occur only in the column of Smith's supporters. Their significance is anybody's guess. Since it is impossible to tell when these symbols were added, or by whom, no use has been made of them here.

I have added to the list the symbols in brackets against each name. (1T) indicates that the member alongside whose name it occurs is accredited with a tory vote in one of the lists used for compiling these voting records, (2T) that he

has a tory vote recorded in two separate divisions between 1702 and 1714, and so up to (4T*) which means that he is recorded as voting tory in all the lists consulted, the star (*) indicating that his name occurs in lists of those who supported the 'tack' in November 1704. Voters in the following division lists were counted as tories:

(i) Lists of those who were against the Lords' amendments to the bill for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration: 13 February 1703.
(ii) Lists of those who supported the motion to 'tack' the occasional conformity bill to the land tax bill: 28 November 1704.
(iii) Lists of those who were against the impeachment of Doctor Sacheverell: 1710.
(iv) Lists of those who were for the Treaty of Commerce with France: 18 June 1713.

Similarly (1W) indicates that the member whose name is to the left of the bracket is recorded as voting whig in one of the lists consulted, (2W) that he has a whig vote recorded in two separate divisions in Anne's reign, up to (7W) which means that his name is registered in all seven divisions counted as being whig, which are:

(i) Lists of those who were for the Lords' amendments to the bill for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration: 13 February 1703.
(ii) Lists of those who supported the bill for naturalizing foreign Protestants: 1709.
(iii) Lists of those who were for the impeachment of Doctor Sacheverell: 1710.
(iv) Lists of those who were against the Treaty of Commerce with France: 18 June 1713.
(v) Lists of those who were against the expulsion of Richard Steele from the house of commons: 19 March 1714.

All the above lists are described in the article 'Division lists of the house of commons 1689–1715', by R. Walcott (*ante*, xiv. 25–36). Two other lists were used in the compilation of whig voting records:

(vi) 'The division of 25th May 1711 on an amendment to the South Sea Bill', by J. G. Sperling (*Historical Journal*, iv (1961), 193). Dr. Sperling's analysis of the voting behaviour of the thirty-four members on this list (*ibid.*, pp. 198–9) revealed a pattern of consistency similar to that found in the analysis below.
(vii) 'The Commons' division on "No Peace without Spain", 7 December 1711', by G. S. Holmes (*ante*, xxxiii. 233–4).

Two divisions were disregarded in the compilation of these records:

(a) Lists of those who opposed the motion to 'tack' the occasional conformity bill to the land tax bill: 28 November 1704. Two hundred and fifty-one members in fact voted against this measure (*C.J.*, xiv. 437) but the extant lists contain far more names than this, the lowest count being as many as 335, making them entirely useless for purposes of this kind. This is unfortunate, since a number of tories are known to have opposed the 'tackers', and it would be useful to know exactly who these were.

(b) The list published *ante*, xiv. 30–3 by Dr. Walcott, who pointed out that this is of the court side in one of the divisions over the place clause in the Regency Bill

in 1706, in which the issue was between court and country rather than whig and tory.

(N) indicates that the member's name does not occur on any of the lists used in compiling the voting records, and (N+) that the member concerned only sat in the parliament of 1705–8 during the reign of Queen Anne. The voting records of placemen have been underlined: e.g. R: H: John Ld Visc Fitzharding (2W).

The Prior's Kitchen, Durham: Baker Baker Collection (8/17)

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
[*fo. 1r.*]		
	Bedfordshire—4	
Sr Wm Goetwick (5W)	Sr Vincent Charnock—1 (N)	
Wm Farrer Esqr. (4W)		
Sr Philip Monoux (N+)		
3		
	Berks—9	
Richd Nevell Esqr. (3W)	Sr John Stonehouse (4T*)	Tanfield Vachell
R: H: John Ld Visc	Wm Genings Esqr (1T)	Dead
Fitzharding / (2W)	2	
Richd Topham Esqr. / (5W)		
Sr Owen Buckingham (1W)		
Clement Kent Esqr. (N+)		
Grey Nevill Esqr. (2W)		
6		
	Bucks—14	
Robt. Dormer Esqr. / (N)	R. H. Wm. Ld. Cheyne / (N)	Sr. R. Temple
Sr Richd Temple / (5W)	Sr Samll Gerrard—(3T*)	Double
Sr Edmond Denton (3W)	Sr James Etheredge—(2T*1W)	
Charl Godfrey Esqr / (4W1T)	3	
Fleetwood Dormer Esqr		
(3W)		
Sr John Witterang / (2W)		
Symon Mayn Esqr (2W)		
Richd Hambden Esqr (5W)		
Sr Roger Hill—(4W)		
James Chase Esqr—10 (3W)		
	Cambridgeshire—6	
Sr Rushout Cullen (3W)	H: Arthur Annesley / (3T*)	
John Bromley Esqr. (N+)	Ho: Dixey Windsor Esqr	
Anthony Thompson Esqr. 3	(1T1W)	
(1W)	Sr. John Cotton—3 (N+)	
	Cheshire—4	
H: Langham Booth Esqr.	Sr. Henry Banbury—/(2T*)	
(2W)	Peter Shackerley Esqr. 2	
John Crew Offley Esqr.	(2T*2W)	
(2W)		

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
	Cornwall 44	
Hugh Boscawen Esqr. / (3W)	H: Henry Ld Hide / (2T)	. Sr Richd Vivian
. Wm Bridges Esqr + (N)	Wm Carey Esqr. (3T*)	. John Hoblin Esqr
H: Russell Roberts Esqr / (3W1T)	James Buller Esqr (3T*)	. Sidney Godolphin Esqr
	Wm Pole Esqr (3T*)	
Robt Molesworth Esqr (N+)	Henry Pinnell Esqr (1T*)	. John Hicks Esqr
Henry Vincent Esqr (3W)	Francis Scobell Esqr / (3T*)	. Samll Rolle Esqr
H: Francis Roberts Esqr / (1W)	Sr Hen: Seymor (3T*)	
	George Clarke / (1T)	
. Tho: Dodson Esqr (N)	John Travanyon (2T)	. Mr Boscowen Doub
H: Francis Godolphin (4W)	John Manley / (4T*)	
Joseph Moyle Esqr __/ (N+)	Henry Fleming (1T)	Mr Roll Doub
R: H: Sr Charl Hedges / (N)	Sr: Nich Morrice (2T)	
John Mounstevens (N+)	John Sparke (1T*)	
James Craggs (5W)	Sr Wm Coriton (1T)	
Samll Trefusis (1W)		
R: H: James Vernon (1W)		
10	7	
[*fo. 1v.*]		
Sr Philip Meadowes / (N)		
. Sr Symon Harcourt + (2T)		
Sr. Barth. Gracedeui (N+)		
? John Borlase (1W1T)		
. George Granville + (2T)		
Sr Wm Hedges (2W)		
Hugh Fortescue (2W)		
Francis Godfrey (N)		
Sr Joseph Tredenham (N)		
	Cumberland 6	
Thomas Stanwix / (3W)		. Richd Musgrave
Sr. James Mountague / (5W)		James Stanhope
Thomas Lamplough (N)		
George Fletcher—4 (N)		
	Derbishire 4	
Thomas Cook + (2T2W)	John Curson (3T*)	
R: H: James Ld Cavendish (2W)		
Thomas Parker / 3 (2W)		
	Devonshire 26	
. H: Charl Trelawney / (N)	Sr Wm Courtney (1T1W)	. Henry Maynaton
Sr George Binge / (2W)	Robt Rolle (1T)	Wm Cowper—
John Dibble (2W)	R: H: Sr Edward Seymor (1T*)	
Samll Roll jun (N+)	John Snell (2T*)	
Sr John Cape (4W)	Sr Humph Mackworth (1T*)	
Richd Edgecombe (4W)	Thomas Coulson (2T*)	

(*continued overleaf*)

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
	Devonshire—cont.	
Sr Walter Young (2W)	Thomas Northmore (N)	
Peter King ____/ (5W)	Sr Symon Leech (N)	
Tho: Berre (3W)	Nich Hooper (3T)	
Robert Burridge 10 (1W)	Sr Wm Drake / (2T*)	
	James Buldiel (2T)	
	Richd Reynell (1T1W)	
	Gilbert Yard (N+)	
	Frederick Herne (4T*1W)	
	Nath Herne (2T*2W)	
	Dorsetshire 20	
Sr Wm Pippard (1W)	Thomas Strangeways (3T*)	. H: Charl Churchill
Awnsham Churchill (2W)	Thomas Chaffin (3T*)	
Thomas Freke (2W)	Nath Napier (2T)	
John Burridge (2W)	H: Hen Thynne (2T*)	
H: Maurice Ashley Cooper (4W)	Tho: Strangeways jun (1T)	
Anth: Henley (3W)	Geo: Pitt (2T2W)	
Alex Pitfield (N)	John Bucks (2T*)	
. Edward Nicholas + (3T)	Richd Fawne—FOUNDS (4T*)	
Sr John Copley (3W)	8	
R: H: Tho Erle / (4W)		
. Samll Weston (N+) 11		
11	1	
[*fo. 2r.*]		
	Durham 4	
Sr Wm Bowes (N)	Sr Robt Eden (3T)	
	Sr Hen: Bellassis / (2T*)	
	Thomas Conyers 3 (3T)	
1		
	Essex	
R: H: Henry Ld Walden (N+)	Wm Fitch / (2T*)	
Sr Francis Masham / (1W)	John Comyns (3T*)	
Sr Isack Rebow (5W)		
Edward Bullock (N+)		
. Sr Thomas Davall (N)		
John Ellis 6 / (N)		
	Gloucestershire	
Hen: Ireton (2W)	Allen Bathurst (1T)	Charles Cox
Sr John Guise (2W)		Richd Dowdeswell
Maynard Colchester (1W)		
John Hanbury (N)		
Wm Cook (1W)		
Edmond Bray 6 (N)		

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
	Herefordshire	
H: James Bridges / (2W1T)	R: H: James Ld Visc Scundamore (1T)	
? Tho Foley / (2T)	Hen: Gorges (3T*)	
R: H: Tho Ld Coningsby (3W)	Henry Cornwell (1T1W)	
Edward Harley + (2T)		
John Birch / (4W)		
	Hertfordshire	
Sr John Spencer (N+)	Ralph Freeman (3T*1W)	
. H: George Churchill (1W)	John Gape (4T*)	
	Charles Caesar / (3T*)	
	Richd Goulton (3T*)	
	Huntingdonshire 4	
John Drayton (N)	Sr John Cotton (1T)	
Edward Worthley Mountague (4W)		
John Pocklington (4W)		
	Kent 10	
? Tho King ____/ (1T)	R: H: Wm Ld Villars (N+)	Sr Cloud: Shovell
. Sr Thomas Colepepper (2W)	Sr Cholmley Deering (1T)	Sr Staf: Fairburn
	Hen: Lee / (2T)	Sr John Jennins
	John Hardresse (1T)	
	Thomas Blisse 5 (1T)	
	Lancashire 14	
Sr Roger Bradshaigh + (1W1T)	Richd Shuttleworth (1T1W)	Emanuel How
	Francis Annesley (1T1W)	. Tho Stringer
	Edward Rigby (N+)	Charles Stanley
	Robt Heysham (2T2W)	
	Wm Heysham (1T1W)	
	Tho: Leigh of Lyme (3T*)	
	John Ward of Copesthorne / (3T*1W)	
6	5	
[*fo. 2v.*]		
	Edward Harvey (1T1W)	
	Wm Clayton (N)	
	Thomas Johnson (3W)	
	Leicestershire 4	
	H: John Verney (1T)	
	John Wilkins (N)	
	Sr Geo Beaumont / (4T*)	
	Samll Winstanley (3T*1W)	

(*continued overleaf*)

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
	Lincolnshire 12	
George Whichcot (2W)	Tho Lister (2T)	
H: Albemarle Bertie (2W)	Sr Thomas Meeres (2T)	
Sr Edward Irby (N)	Richd Wynn (1T)	
Arthur More + (3T)	H: Charles Cecill (1T)	
Wm Cotesworth (4W)	H: Charles Bertie (3T*)	
Rt H: John Ld Marq of Granby (N)		
Sr Wm Ellis 7 (4W)		
	5	
	Midlesex 8	
Scorie Barker (2W)		
Sr John Wolstenholme (N)		
R: H: Hen: Boyle (3W)		
Sr Henry Dutton Colt (N+)		
Sr Robt Clayton (1W)		
Sr Wm Ashurst (2W)		
Sr Gilbert Heathcote (3W)		
Samll Shepherd (N+)		
	Monmouthshire 3	
John Morgan of Tredegar (5W)	Sr Thomas Powell (1W)	
Sr Hopton Williams (N+)		
	Norfolke 12	
H: Henry Townshend (2W)	Thomas Blofield (1T)	Sr John Wood-house
Sr John Holland (2W)	Thomas Balgrave (1T*)	Sr Robt Clayton Doub
John Chambers (2W)	Ben. England (N)	
Sr Charles Turner/(7W)	John Nicholson (N)	
Waller Bacon (2W)	Sr Thomas Hanmore (2T*1W)	
Robt Walpoole 6 (6W)	Horatio Walpool (2T)	
	Northamptonshire 9	
H: Sidney Wortley als Mountague (4W)	Sr Justinian Isham (2T)	H: John Sidney
H: Geo: Mountague (5W)	Thomas Cartwright (1T)	H: Tho Went-worth
H: Charles Eggerton (3W)	Sr Gilbert Dolben / (1T)	
	Francis Arrundell (2T)	
	Nottinghamshire 8	
John Thornhaugh (3W)	Robt Scheverell (N)	Sr Thomas Willoby
	Wm Pierpoynt (N)	James Sanderson
	Sr Willoby Hickman (2T*)	
	Wm Leving (3T*1W)	
	John Digby (N)	
2	2	

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
[*fo. 3r.*]	*Northumberland*	
Sr John Dalavull (1W)	Tho Foster (N+)	Sr Wm Blacket
Wm Carr (3W)		
Sr Richd Sandford (4W)		
Samll Ogle ____/ (2W)		
Jonathan Hutchinson (3W)		
Edmond Mayne (N+)		
	Oxon	
. Wm Bromley (3T*)	Sr Robt Jenkinson (2T*)	Wm Cadogan
	Sr Edward Norris (1T*)	
	Sr Wm Whitlock (3T*)	
	Thomas Rowney (4T*)	
	Fr: Norris (2T*)	
	H: Charles Bertie (1W)	
	H: Charles North (4T*)	
	Rutlandshire	
	Richd Holford (4T*)	. Sr Thomas Mackworth
	Salop 12	
Wm Whitmore (1W)	Robt Loyd (N+)	. Sr Thomas Powis
Sr Hump: Briggs (3W)	John Kinnaston (1T)	
Sr Wm Forrester ____/ (3W)	Richd Mitton (1T)	
Geo Weld (1W)	Acton Baldwin (2T)	
Hen: Brett (N)		
Char Mason ____/ (2W)		
Sr Robt Corbet (2W)		
	Somersetshire 18	
John Pigot (N+)	Maurice Berkley (N)	. Nath Palmer
Robt Yate (3W)	Henry Portman (3T*)	Alex Popham Dead
Sr Wm Daines (3W)	Sr Fran Warr (2T)	
Wm Blaithwait / (2W)	Sr Thomas Wroth (1T)	
Edward Clark (1W)	Alex Lutterell (N)	
Geo Balch (3W)	Sr Jacob Binks (4T*)	
Edward Strowde (N+)	John Webb (N+)	
Sr Thomas Travell (3W)		
. Thomas Medlicot + (2T)		
	Southampton	
Thomas Jervus (2W)	R: H: Sr Geo Rook / (N)	R: H: Ld Visc Woodstock
Richd Chander (2W)	Henry Holmes (3T*)	Adam de Cardanell
Ld Wm Pawlet (7W)	Leonard Bilson (2T*)	R: H: John Ld Cutts
George Rodney Bridges / (3W)	Wm Stevens (4T*)	
	Fr: Gwynn / (4T*)	

(*continued overleaf*)

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
	Southampton—cont.	
. Wm Gilford + (1T)	R: H: John Smith (6W)	Tho Dore Dead
Anth Morgan (2W)		John Shrimpton
H: Norton Pawlet (5W)		
Sr John Howles (2W)		
Sr Edward Laurence / (2W)		
James Worsley + (2W1T)		
Henry Worsley + (2W1T)		
. Wm Etherick + (2T)		
Paul Burrard (4W)		
Richd Woolaston (3W)		
Fr Shepherd (N)		
7	2	
[*fo. 3v.*]		
	Staffordshire	
H: Henry Pagett + (1T)	Sr Edward Bagett (1T)	
? Walter Chetwynd (4W)	Richd Dyott (1T*)	
Thomas Foley + (1T)	Sr Henry Goffe (N+)	
Thomas Guye (1W)	Sr Thomas Bellot (N)	
	Rowland Cotton (N)	
	Joseph Girdler (4T*)	
	Suffolk	
Sr Gervas Elwes (N)	H: Lyonll E. of Dysert (1T*)	Sr Robt Davers
Phil: Skippon (1W)	(name erased.)[1]	Doub
H: Spencer Compton / (4W)	Sr Robt Davers (4T*)	. Wm Johnson
Sr Joseph Jeykell / (4W)	Hen: Powley (1T*)	
Sr Thomas Felton (1W)	John Bence (1T*)	
	Sr Charles Blois (1T*)	
	John Rouse (N+)	
	Sr Edmond Bacon (1T*)	
	Sr Edward Turner (2T*)	
	Sr Henry Johnson (2T)	
	Surrey	
Sr Richd Onslow (5W)	Sr John Parsons (2T*1W)	. Geo Woodroft
Sr Wm Scawen (2W)	George Newland (1T1W)	
John Cholmley (4W)	Paul Docminique (1T2W)	
Charles Cox (5W)	John Fulham (N+)	
John Ward (2W1T)		
George Evelyn (4W)		
Stephen Harvey (1W)		
Danll. Onslow (5W)		
Richard Wroth (N)		

[1]Almost obliterated, but apparently Richard Davers, presumably written in error for 'Sr Robt Davers', and immediately corrected by the writer.

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
	Sussex	
Sr Thomas Littleton (1W)	Sr Geo Parker (N)	Wm Elson Dead
Thomas Pelham (5W)	Charles Eversfield (2T)	. Robt Orme
? Richd Payne (N)	Charles Goring (N)	. R: H: Tho Ld Visc Windsor
Nath Gould (5W)	John Toke (1T*)	
John Wicker (1W)	Henry Cowper (N)	. John Conyers
Wm Wallis (N)	Laurence Alcock (1T)	
John Morley Trevor (1W)		
John Aysgill (N)		
James Buller (N+)		
Edward Dummer (N)		
	Warwickshire	
	Sr John Mordant (3T*)	Sr Charles Shooksbury
	Sr Xpo Hales (2T*)	DEAD . MR ARCHER
	Tho Gery (2T*)	
	H: Fr Greville (2T*)	
	H: Dodington Greville (2T)	
	Westmorland	
Robt Lowther (N+)	Henry Grahme (N)	
	Wm Harvey (3T*)	
	James Grahme (2T)	
4		
[*fo. 4r.*]		
	Wiltshire 34	
Robt Eyre / (3W)	Robt Hide (2T*) MR NICHOLAS (N+)	John Methuen
. ~~Wm Nicholas~~ [*sic*]	Sr Richd How (3T*)	Walter White Dead
John Eyre (4W)	Charles Fox (2T*)	Henry Mordant
Reynold Calthorpe (3W)	John Gauntlett (N)	Edwd Ash Doub
Edward Ash / (6W)	Sr Charles Duncombe (1T)	Sr Geo Bing Doub
Wm Monson (3W)	George Morley (N)	
Edward Bainton (2W)	H: Robt Bertie (1T*)	
Geo Duckett (2W)	H: Henry Bertie (2T*1W)	
Thomas Farrington / (3W)	Sr Francis Child (1T1W)	
Edmond Dunch / (5W)	Sr James Long (1T)	
Samll Barker (N)	Walter Kent (N+)	
Nich: Pollexfen / (N+)	Thomas Powell (N+)	
Henry St John + (1T)	R: Pitt (1T1W)	
Charles Mompesson (4W)	R: H: Ld Visc Grandison (N+)	
	John Morton Pleydale (N+)	
	John Jeffreys (N)	
	Worcestershire	
Wm Bromley (N+)	Sr John Packington (3T*)	. Salway Winnington
Thomas Wild (5W)	Samll Swift (2T)	
Thomas Cocks (1W)	Hugh Parker (1T*)	
? Edward Foley / (1T)		
John Rudge (7W)		

(*continued overleaf*)

For Smith	For Bromley	Absent
	Yorkshire	
R: H: Wm Ld Marq of Hartington (1W)	Sr John Kay (N)	. Robt Benson
Sr Wm Robinson (6W)	Robt Byerley / (4T*)	Wharton Dunch Dead
Sr Wm St Quintin / (6W)	Robt Squire (N+)	Xpo Stockdale
Wm Maister (5W)	John Sharpe (2T)	
Wm Thompson (4W)	John Stapleton (N+)	
John Aislaby / (2W1T)	Sr John Bland (1T)	
. Anth Duncombe (N)		
Wm Pultney (6W)		
Craven Paton + (2W1T)		
Sr Wm Strickland (3W)		
Thomas York (3W)		
Wm Palmes ____/ (4W)		
Sr Thomas Frankland / (2W)		
Sr Godfrey Copley (N)		
Robt Moncton /____ (2W1T)		
Wm Jessop /____ (5W)		
Sr Charles Hotham / (4W)		
John Moyser (N+)		
Sr Wm Hustler (3W)		
Wm Lowther (3W)		
14	1	

[*fo. 4v.*]

	Barons of the Cinque Ports 16	
John Pultney (3W)	H: Wm Ashburnham (1W)	Sr Wm Thomas
Mathew Aumler (4W)	Sr Philip Boteler (N)	
Phil Papillon (6W)	Philip Herbert / (N+)	
Sr Henry Furnace (4W)	James Haynes (N)	
Josiah Burchett / (2W)		
John Brewer (2W)		
Walter Whitfield (2W)		
. Edward Southwell (1T)		
George Doddington (6W)		
Wm Lownds + (2W1T)		
10	5	

	Wales	
Griffith Ryce (3W)	R: H: Ld Visc Buckley (2T)	. Tho Mansell of Britton-ferry
. R: H: Tho Mansell of Morgom + (2T)	H: Henry Bertie (2T)	. John Meyrick
Wiriot Owen (2W)	Sr Edward Williams (1T)	C. Mason Double
. John Laugharne (1T)	Sr Jefrey Jeffreys (N)	3
? Thomas Harley + (2T)	John Pugh (1W)	
R: H: Robt Harley + (1T)	Lewis Price (1T)	
Richd Waughan (2W)	Sr John Wynn (1T*)	
7	H: Thomas Buckley (1T*)	
	Sr Richd Midleton (1T)	
	Wm Robinson (N+)	
	Sr John Conway (2T)	
	Sr Roger Mostyn / (2T*2W)	
	Edward Vaughan (2T*)	
	Richd Vaughan (1T)	
5	14	

Colonial Experience and European Military Reform at the End of the Eighteenth Century[1]

THE CHATHAM PAPERS in the Public Record Office contain a letter to Pitt by an American correspondent, William Corry, which discusses two different approaches to war during the seventeen-fifties.[2] 'Some Weeks ago,' Corry writes,

as I passed by a Company of New Levies who were exercising, commanded by an English Officer with whom I had some little acquaintance, I wanted to see them exercise. The Captain told me for the time they were pretty expert. I who have had some experience in the Indian Wars looked on with the utmost concern; and when the men retired told the Captain we exercised our men that were to fight against the French and Indians in a different manner. Pray Sir, said the Captain, how is that? Only to load quick and hit the Mark, that is our whole Exercise. What! do you take aim at the Enemy, said he. Yes, good aim or not fire, said I. So if an officer appears, said he, Twenty shall aim at him—absolute Murder! Your not in much danger of that, said I; you will scarce find upon an attack six Indians together, and you must divide yourselves in small parties everywhere to oppose the scattered Enemy. Quite absurd, answered he, pray, do you think when a body of Regular forces keep rank and fire regular Platoons [i.e. fire volleys], that any irregular attack can defeat them? It cannot be, Sir, you are certainly mistaken, and here is my orders, said he (pulling out a card), writ on the back: keep Rank and fire Platoons. Sir, you see what I say is the opinion of the Council of War.

'Pray let me acquaint these Gentlemen,' Corry continues,

. . . that they require no Exercise but to be perfectly acquainted with the use of their Arms, that is to load quick and hit the Mark, and for Military Discipline but this one rule: if they are attacked by French and Indians to rush to all parts from where their fire comes . . . It is an unpardonable neglect of Duty to be surprized by the French when a few brisk men scattered for two hundred yards on each Side will prevent it. Keep them from surprizing you and they are an Easy conquest.

'Please to observe,' the letter ends, 'that keeping Rank and firing platoons lost General Braddock and his army.'

These sentences, written at the beginning of the Seven Years War, seem to confirm a widely-held modern notion about the development of warfare during the second half of the eighteenth century. According to this view,

[1] An earlier version of this article, which owes much to the suggestions of Professor John W. Shy of Princeton, was presented at the Anglo-American Conference of Historians in London on 12 July 1962.

Extracts from works in French and German are cited, at the author's request, in his own translation, contrary to the usual *Bulletin* practice.

[2] Public Record Office, 30/8/97. The undated letter was apparently written in 1756. I have somewhat simplified the punctuation of the quoted extracts.

the formalized linear tactics of the European mercenary proved inferior to the cunning and more individualistic mode of fighting employed by his opponents in India and America. Braddock's defeat is typically seen as 'a case of New World fighting methods prevailing over those of the Old'.[1] On the whole, to continue paraphrasing the argument, the professional soldier failed to profit from his experiences, though some adjustments did occur, of which the creation of British light infantry units is an example. More important, a few open-minded French and German officers were impressed by the flexible tactics, the aimed fire and use of concealment practised by the Americans, and on returning home attempted to introduce these methods into their own services. As significant as the new tactics was the condition and attitude of the fighters—free men, who bore arms voluntarily. This object-lesson, too, is often stressed, for instance in Professor Palmer's study of the connexions between eighteenth-century America and Europe. His discussion of the military influence exerted by the War for Independence characteristically concludes that 'a young officer named Gneisenau saw a military value in the patriotically inspired militia, and tried thirty years later to introduce certain features of a democratic kind into the Prussian army'.[2] That Gneisenau arrived from Europe only after the fighting had ended and that his overseas experiences were limited to a few months in the barracks of Halifax and Quebec need not invalidate the suggestion, but should serve as a warning signal—one of many that appear as soon as careers and opinions of eighteenth-century soldiers are subjected to closer scrutiny.[3]

There exists, to be sure, a second version of the birth of the new era in war, which traces its origins not to the American but to the French revolu-

[1] D. Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman* (Chapel Hill, 1961), p. 5. For an opposite view, see S. M. Pargellis, 'Braddock's defeat', *American Hist. Rev.*, xli (1935–6), 253–69. Among other writers who cast doubt on the seminal value of colonial fighting, see W. Millis, *Armies and Men* (1958), pp. 21–3; C. L. Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, ed. J. R. Alden (New York, 1952), i. 30–1.

[2] R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: the Challenge* (Princeton, 1959), p. 247. Cf. R. R. Palmer and J. Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (New York, 1961), p. 331. Though in this case Professor Palmer seems to me to have overstated his argument, I am greatly indebted to his writings on 18th-century history.

[3] It is instructive to note the treatment accorded in the written sources to Gneisenau's service overseas. His first biographer, Fransecki, writing in 1856, emphasizes the tactical and ideological inspirations the young officer drew from his American experience, a claim echoed by such later authors as Pertz (1864), Lehmann (1886), Friederich (1906), Unger (1914), Priesdorff (1937 and 1939), and still repeated in the most recent documentary publication, *Gneisenau: ein Leben in Briefen*, ed. K. Griewank (Leipzig, 1939), p. 6. These assertions are entirely unsupported, presumably because no evidence for them exists. Gneisenau's correspondence from this period of his life seems not to have survived, nor do his contemporaries cite him on the subject. His proposals for tactical reform and for the organization of popular resistance against the French, beginning with his memorandum of Nov. 1806, make no appeal to American models; historical illustrations are instead drawn from uprisings in the Vendée, Spain, and the Tyrol.

tion. The Republican forces deprived by emigration and the personnel policy of the Committee of Public Safety of many of their trained cadres, are said to have improvised a new tactic of skirmish swarms, whose psychological impetus came from the patriotic volunteer. The relationship between these two views is something of a puzzle. Do they conflict, do they describe parallel episodes, or are they connected and can the evolution of war be traced from colonial experience to the campaigns of the French revolution and of Napoleon? The following pages attempt to clarify the lines of development; it is not premature, however, to point out that any interpretation based only on tactics and the constitutional position of the military is too narrow. In particular, foot-soldiers do not form the whole of an army, and their manner of fighting does not make up all of war. As well as the reforms of infantry tactics, the end of the *ancien régime* witnessed important developments in nearly every area of military affairs; none can be ignored in evaluating the influence colonial experience had on the transformation of war. It is therefore necessary, before returning to the American rifleman and the French *tirailleur*, to survey briefly the more significant non-tactical components of the reforms, and to ask how far—if at all—these were affected by events overseas.

I

At the end of the century, three vital changes took place in the organization and equipment of the French forces, and were adopted to a varying extent by other Continental services. The cumbersome structure of the army was recast into divisions—relatively self-sufficient, standardized operational commands. The system of fixed supply-points was modified in favour of greater logistic flexibility. Artillery was made more mobile, more powerful, the number of its guns was increased, and new tactics were evolved to exploit the arm's new potential.

The colonial wars of the previous decades contributed little or nothing to these developments. There is no evidence of divisional organization in the Indian and American campaigns, though it can be argued that independent commands, which were more significant overseas than in Europe, point in that direction. In logistics, too, colonial duty taught the use of improvisation. On the other hand, the scarcity of roads and the great expanse of the theatres of war increased the importance of depots and forts. The Seven Years War in America might indeed be regarded as a design in logistics: a gradual expansion of the supply network to bring the British and their American auxiliaries to Canada. Much of the American War for Independence, particularly in the south, centred on attempts of both parties to destroy each other's stores or take away convoys. So far as artillery is concerned, colonial influence on its weapons-design, manufacture, and tactics did not exist, with the possible but very marginal exception of Hyder Ali's rockets, which Sir Eyre Coote encountered in Madras.

In the realm of recruitment and personnel, revolutionary change occurred

with the replacement of the mercenary by the conscript. Conscription in turn made it easier to maintain sizeable armies. These forces were no longer professional in the sense of the *ancien régime*; increasingly they were drawn from the indigenous population, from wider circles of society, and therefore demanded less rigorous discipline and a more equitable system of promotion. We can find no overseas model for conscription, nor even for its more primitive companion, the *levée en masse*. Various forms of obligation to serve in times of crisis existed among the European communities of India and America, but these were equally to be met with in Holland, Austria, even in Prussia—to say nothing of England.[1] To be sure, the absence of a strong standing army in the New World made it possible as well as necessary for the militia to play a more vigorous part, and its performance in the War for Independence became a matter of interest to European military writers. The victory of the colonists over British and German regulars could be interpreted as proving the practicality of Rousseau's dictum that all citizens ought to be soldiers from a sense of duty, but none soldiers by profession, and the British defeat was frequently cited by the supporters of the militia principle in their great debate with the adherents of the standing army. But this debate the proponents of the militia eventually lost. The Napoleonic wars were waged by regulars, with militia or *Landwehr* units participating—if at all—only in an auxiliary role.

The changes in strategic doctrine that emerged at the end of the century cannot properly be called reforms, but they are part of the new picture of war and should at least be mentioned. They were made possible by some of the developments just surveyed—the organization of the division, for example—and in turn lent impetus to further change. The essential strategic characteristics of the new era might be summarized as speed, the co-ordinated action of sometimes widely separated commands, and, capping these, the search for battle rather than the avoidance of it. The new military generation—or at least its progressive minority—had lost faith in the mathematical paraphernalia of rococo operations, and now sought to hurt or destroy the enemy rather than to outmanoeuvre him.

On the whole, colonial wars of the time are not distinguished from wars on the Continent by greater speed or by a more urgent insistence on physical decision. Such successes as the capture of Louisburg and Wolfe's victory at Quebec were not typical; if anything, fighting in sparsely-settled, wild country underlined the need for strategic and tactical caution. Overseas campaigns did, however, include co-ordinated operations of a kind that had no true parallel in central Europe. The most notable instance, perhaps, was that of the three British armies converging on Canada in 1759 and 1760.

[1] Numerous Prussian militia units were mobilized against Swedish and Russian incursions during the Seven Years War. For example, a Cabinet order of 13 July 1757 authorized the formation of ten Pomeranian *Land-Bataillons* to serve 'in this special and critical situation, when it is a question of protecting the Fatherland and of turning away an immediate threat'. R. de l'Homme de Courbière, *Geschichte der Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Heeres-Verfassung* (Berlin, 1852), pp. 111–13.

The West Indian campaigns of the following years showed a similar use of widely separated forces; a method again tried in 1777 by Burgoyne, Howe, and St. Leger. These extensive strategic patterns were determined by geographic factors and arrangements of bases to which no equivalents existed in Europe. They might be interpreted as harbingers of the coming co-operation of divisions and army corps. On the generation of revolutionary and Napoleonic generals, who were brought up on the campaigns of the marshal de Saxe and Frederick the Great, they left little impression. In the military education of Napoleon they appear not to have figured at all.

Further changes that contributed to the transformation of war at the end of the century occurred in the realms of politics and of personal attitudes. Rather than treat these in isolation, however, it will prove more useful if the few suggestions offered about them are combined with the discussion of infantry tactics to which we must now return.

II

The decisive innovation in infantry fighting at the end of the eighteenth century consisted in the acceptance of open order tactics by the line infantry. Close order methods—the line, the attack column, fire by volley—were now combined as a matter of course with skirmish groups and individual, aimed fire. Furthermore, these methods were employed not by separate specialist units that mutually supported each other, but by the same men, or at least by sub-units of the same tactical command.

A Frederickian infantry battalion fought at its highest efficiency over open, unobstructed ground. Forests and mountains disrupted its linear formations and thus lessened the fire-power and solidity of advance that constituted its strength. Simply marching through covered terrain presented risks to the closed formation, since the tasks of liaison, reconnaissance, and flank protection were carried out almost wholly by specialist units, which might not be available when needed, and whose proper co-ordination with the main body was always difficult to ensure. Now, the new methods enabled the battalion to operate on its own anywhere and against any type of opponent. The commander could send out skirmish lines to protect the advance and open the firefight; his linear formations could employ volleys in defence and in preparation for attack, and could then be concentrated in attack columns, supported by skirmishers, for the final decision. The commander thus disposed of a weapon that combined mass effect with individual action and initiative. On a small scale, the reformed battalion resembled the division in its flexibility and self-sufficiency.

Models or even primitive ancestors of the new tactical integration are difficult to find in colonial campaigns. Combat reports of the time make it apparent that open order itself, particularly in the attack, was rarely used overseas. During the Madras campaigns of the seventeen-seventies and seventeen-eighties all usually went well so long as the British and their native auxiliaries maintained close cohesion. In the War for Independence, too,

both armies relied primarily on linear formations, deployed on the cleared lands of the eastern seaboard.[1] As their correspondence shows, it was a constant concern of the American leaders to teach their men not to scatter under fire, but to stand or move forward in serried ranks, and if possible to fire volleys by command. General Steuben's contribution to the American cause lies in the measure to which this goal was achieved.

The British light infantry, first raised in America during the seventeen-fifties, constituted an attempt to adapt linear methods to operations in difficult terrain. It must be noted, however, that these units derived many of their characteristics from the European tradition of the *chasseur* or *jäger*, and that their adjustment did not go very far.[2] Possibly their tactics were somewhat more flexible than those of the line, they served as advance guards, led assaults and landings, and at times were employed to pursue French and Indian raiding parties; but their drill, discipline, and equipment were essentially those of the rest of the army, and more often than not they were used like regular infantry.

To contribute to march security and add versatility to their tactics, the British line battalions serving in America between 1756 and 1763 formed their own light companies on an *ad hoc* basis. They tried to attract young, intelligent and agile men, and came to rival the grenadiers as *élite* formations. In 1770 a light company was officially authorized for each line battalion. During the War for Independence, these companies were often grouped with grenadiers into 'flank companies' for special missions—a development which, necessary though it was, nullified the companies' original purpose of adding flexibility to the line. It reflects, however, a common practice of European armies in the last decades of the century.

The one notable difference between infantry fighting in Europe and in the colonies lay in the greater emphasis placed on small-unit operations and, at least in America, on marksmanship. At a time when Frederick the Great demanded volume of fire from his men rather than accuracy, Amherst wrote to Gage, 'firing at marks is so essential for forming a soldier for this country, that I am certain I need not mention it to you'.[3] In 1765 Gage himself

[1] From the 1750s on, British infantry in America fought in two ranks, while in Europe battalions still drew up in three ranks or more. The numbers saved by doing without the third rank could be used as skirmishers, but also to form reserves or to extend the line. Thus an order of battle in two ranks would not necessarily lead to open tactics, just as heavier formations did not necessarily imply rigidity. Napoleonic infantry, for instance, more often than not fought from a basic formation of three.

[2] The first regiment of this kind, the 60th Royal Americans, was 'recruited from settlers, mainly of German and Swiss origin . . . to which were added volunteers from British regiments and others from Europe. Many of the senior officers and a considerable number of the Company officers were also drawn from the armies of Europe.' Sir Edward Hutton, *A Brief History of the King's Royal Rifle Corps* (Winchester, 1917), p. 2. See also J. F. C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth Century* (1925), p. 98.

[3] Letter of 16 Apr. 1761. Ann Arbor, Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Gage MSS., Amherst Papers, vol. v.

ordered Colonel Campbell in Detroit to 'make every soldier in your Regiment a good Marksman', and two years later he wrote to Captain Edmonstone at Fort Pitt, 'You have done very right in practicing the Recruits of the 34th Regiment to fire at Marks.'[1] Similar statements occur in British military correspondence up to the end of the War for Independence, linked sometimes with advice to exercise troops in such manner as shall be best for all sorts of service in the woods. Evidently decades of fighting against the elusive Indian had had their effect. But when large numbers of Americans and British came to face each other, they resorted to linear tactics; the troops deployed from columns into lines or squares, and attempted to kill or frighten the enemy by volleys that were certainly slower and more ragged, but perhaps more accurate, than those of their Prussian contemporaries.

But how do the colonial rangers and scouts, Braddock's defeat, the American sharpshooters and riflemen fit into this linear pattern? It is of course true that another kind of war existed side by side with the regular campaign—or, perhaps more accurately, was carried on in the intervals of preparation and build-up between battles. This was irregular war: *la petite guerre* or *der kleine Krieg* of eighteenth-century military terminology. 'By little war', Clausewitz wrote in 1810, 'we understand the employment of small units in the field; actions involving 20, 50, 100 or 3–400 men belong to the little war, unless they form part of a larger engagement.'[2] A later definition held, 'the little war is that manner of fighting which attempts to achieve the secondary aims present in all wars, by means that are small in relation to the overall military effort'.[3] These secondary aims were to be gained by patrols, raids, ambushes of troops and convoys, and the capture of prisoners. Occasionally a sizeable regular force fell victim to such an undertaking—for example, Braddock's column—but generally the little war involved small numbers on either side.

This is the kind of war Corry wrote about in his letter to Pitt. Such small-unit operations, however, in no manner resembled the integration of close and open order of the future. At most it might be thought that experience in this type of fighting speeded the coming of the new tactics. Indeed, if irregular warfare were unique or peculiar to overseas campaigns then the notion that colonial experience provided the seedbed of European military reform could not easily be dismissed. But this was far from being the case. At the time when Major Roger's rangers and Montcalm's scouts were sniping at each other, a force of Austrian irregulars slipped around Frederick's lines and for a few glorious days occupied Berlin. In civilized eighteenth-century Europe, armies stood as much in need of specialists for

[1] Letters of 20 Apr. 1765, and 23 Nov. 1767. Gage MSS., American Series.

[2] Unpublished lectures on the little war, held in 1810 and 1811 at the Allgemeine Kriegsschule in Berlin; 'Introduction.' University of Munster, Clausewitz Archiv. Professor Werner Hahlweg of the University of Munster is preparing an edition of this manuscript.

[3] F. W. Rüstow, *Die Lehre vom kleinen Kriege* (Zurich, 1864), p. 3.

march security, patrols, raids, and ambushes as they did in the Ohio Valley. Initially, these troops, with some exceptions, did not belong to the permanent establishment, but were auxiliaries hired or mobilized for the duration of hostilities. Their numerical strength could be considerable. In the Austrian service, which first introduced them on a large scale, they sometimes constituted as much as one quarter of all effectives. Other armies were compelled to counter the new threat in kind. 'It was this multitude of men, distinguished by bonnets and capes of every kind and colour', wrote a contemporary French officer, 'that forced us in 1744 and the following years to raise the regiments de Grassin, de la Morliere, des Cantabres, Breton-Volunteers, . . . de Guesreick, and several free [partisan] companies, aside from countless detachments that daily set out from the lines.'[1] During the Seven Years War, Frederick the Great raised twenty-three battalions of irregulars—so-called *Freibataillone*—after already strengthening his light cavalry arm to oppose Maria Theresa's hussars.

These auxiliaries played an active part in the events leading up to the military revolution at the end of the *ancien régime*. They constituted one of three separate but simultaneous developments, which gradually joined together to create the integrated infantry tactics of the new century.

The first was the gradual amalgamation of irregular light troops with the regulars of the line. Every European army experienced this process, though in some it went farther and faster than in others. In Prussia, to take a characteristic instance, the temporary *Freibataillone* evolved into fusilier battalions on the permanent list, which after 1807 so completely merged with the rest of the infantry that only their name and some bits of distinctive braid remained to set them apart.

The second development, already mentioned in connexion with the British in America, was the addition to each line battalion of some specialists in open order and aimed fire. In France this practice existed in rudimentary form as early as the Regency. By the end of the *ancien régime* each French infantry battalion included a few dozen men who were trained to skirmish and fire at will—the *tirailleurs de bataillon*. In Prussia, too, ten sharpshooters were added to each line company in 1787, men whose duty was to fight outside the linear formation, heading the advance and covering the retreat. On paper this matched French policy; but lack of realistic training and the use of sharpshooters as non-commissioned officer replacements minimized the practical effects.

The third strand leading to tactical reform was made up of the *élite* regular units for the light service that most European armies possessed in small numbers since the turn of the century. In contrast to the irregulars, these *chasseur* or *jäger* formations attracted men of some economic standing; at least their cadres usually consisted of foresters and rangers. Pay and allowances tended to be above average, discipline less rigid; in some states—Prussia, for one—the men had a claim to posts in the civil administration

[1] Capitaine de Grandmaison, *La petite guerre* ([Paris], 1756), pp. 7–8.

after completing their service. They were generally armed with rifles, rifled carbines, or carbines, instead of the cheaper and less accurate standard musket. In 1789, the French army—pre-eminent here too—had on its permanent establishment twelve battalions of *chasseurs à pied*, which were also called by the prophetic name *tirailleurs en grande bande*. In combat these units could deploy completely as skirmishers. It may be noted, incidentally, that at a time when the *jäger* could already look back on a rich military past, his favourite weapon, the rifle, was still somewhat of a novelty overseas. Christopher Ward quotes a letter John Adams wrote to his wife while attending the First Continental Congress, in which he tells her of 'a peculiar kind of musket, called a rifle', used by 'riflemen . . . from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia . . . the most accurate marksmen in the world.'[1] Indeed, only one rifle-maker is said to have worked north of Pennsylvania before 1783.[2]

Thus, behind the new integrated infantry tactics that came to dominate European battlefields from the middle of the seventeen-nineties on, there lay, as might be expected, an organic European development, extending over a century, which gradually combined the techniques of linear formations with those of irregular auxiliaries, of regular specialists in open order who already were members of the line, and of *élite* light units such as the *chasseurs*. These separate bodies joined, with the eventual result of a new all-purpose infantry, in which each soldier could fight in the line, in column, as skirmisher, and on detached missions.[3] The process was particularly advanced in the French army. When the Revolution released new sources of governmental and popular energy, of enthusiasm and patriotism, it found well-developed military techniques ready to hand. Colonial experiences played a secondary role; they tended to reinforce existing trends, not to initiate them.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that professional soldiers of the day showed little awareness of a supposed tactical influence from

[1] Ward, i. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 435. The misconception that American rifles and American methods of loading were superior to those of Europe continues to be held even by specialists in 18th-century American military affairs. For example, H. H. Peckham writes in *The War for Independence: a Military History* (Chicago, 1959), p. 27: 'Rifled barrels were known in Europe, but the problem of making the lead bullet fit snugly, so that it would be set in a whirling motion by the rifle grooves when fired, had been ingeniously solved by some nameless backwoodsman who covered the bullet with a patch of greased linen. Both were inserted in the muzzle and rammed home against a pinch of powder . . .' In reality this technique was well known in Central Europe since the 17th century; indeed, the use of a patch or plaster suggested the word *Pflasterbüchse* to denote the rifle carried by German hunters and soldiers. Cf. W. Eckardt and O. Morawietz, *Die Handwaffen des brandenburgisch-preussisch-deutschen Heeres, 1640–1945* (Hamburg, 1957), pp. 73–80; *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in its Golden Age*, ed. M. A. Cresswell (York, Pennsylvania, 1960), pp. 26–7.

[3] Certain *élite* bodies of *chasseurs*, *jäger*, and riflemen retained their separate identity after the Napoleonic Era, but on the whole the distinction had become social rather than tactical.

overseas. Three examples of a very different kind may serve to indicate the contemporary European view. When Lafayette in his Memoirs talks of the skirmishers he employed in 1792, he alludes in no way to his experiences in America, though in other contexts these are mentioned often enough.[1] One of the most widely used practical guides to the little war and other types of detached service during the early years of the Revolution, Scharnhorst's *Militairisches Taschenbuch*, cites four examples of raids, patrols and ambushes from the American War for Independence as against over sixty drawn from the Seven Years War.[2] Some years later, when the great Napoleonic authority on light infantry, Count Duhesme, discussed what he himself termed 'the tactical revolution of the early seventeen-nineties' in his fundamental work on light troops, he wrote not one word about the experiences gained by the French or anyone else in India and America. His analysis skips directly from the Seven Years War to the wars of the French revolution.[3]

III

In our survey of military reforms at the end of the eighteenth century, we have found little evidence that they were shaped in any essential way by colonial experience. The changes in artillery, the development of the division, the new concepts of strategy, all these seem wholly unaffected by events overseas, or very nearly so. In other areas, conscription and infantry tactics, the processes leading to reform were strengthened by colonial experience: the need for change and the practicality of certain innovations were supported by evidence gathered in India and America.

But is this really all colonial warfare contributed? And if it should amount to no more, how did the notion of its seminal value arise? Something, no doubt, is owed to patriotic American writers and to European liberal historians, whose ideological convictions outweighed their knowledge of military affairs. A further source may be traced to the period of the great revolutionary and Napoleonic victories, when the reversal of values provided a rich occasion for the growth of legends. In 1807, for example, immediately after the collapse of Prussia, a book appeared in Königsberg, which discussed certain weaknesses of linear tactics and argued in favour of the more flexible methods of the French. Possibly, the author thought it injurious to his cause openly to set up the former enemy as model, and instead of advising his compatriots in the future to fight like Frenchmen, he

[1] J. Colin, *L'Infanterie au XVIIIe siècle: la tactique* (Paris, 1907), p. 275.

[2] G. von Scharnhorst, *Militairisches Taschenbuch zum Gebrauch im Felde* (Hanover, 1792). The work achieved at least four editions. Scharnhorst took the American incidents from the book of the Hessian officer J. von Ewald, *Abhandlung vom Dienst der leichten Truppen* (Flensburg, 1790). In a review of the work he wrote: '[it] contains quite useful rules for the service of light troops. However, those who know Jenny and Grandmaison will not find anything exactly new in it.' *Jenaer Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (1790), no. 352.

[3] Philippe-Guillaume Comte Duhesme, *Essai sur l'infanterie légère* (Paris, 1814).

urged them to take on the qualities of wild Indians and 'raw sons of nature'.[1] But these after all are very minor points, and it is perhaps worth exploring whether something more substantial does not lie behind the erroneous idea that overseas experience made a vital contribution to European military reform. Our search will have to proceed in a somewhat roundabout manner.

In the middle of the eighteenth century a new type of military literature appeared on the bookstalls of Europe. The earliest representative of the new wave was a volume by a French officer, de la Croix, entitled *Traité de la petite guerre.*[2] No comparable work seems to have appeared in the preceding hundred years; but for the period between 1752 and 1800 it is possible to identify fifty titles devoted entirely to the little war, and no doubt this list is incomplete.[3] Many of the books went into several editions and were translated, so that the total printed output on this subject assumed considerable proportions. It is remarkable that during the years when the theory of tactics and of grand operations was pushed to those extremes of almost geometric precision that were aptly called 'manoeuvre strategy', irregular warfare for the first time became a common concern of military thinkers, and a fashionable subject to write about.

Most of these books are highly repetitive. Clausewitz, reviewing the literature in his lectures in 1810, singled out a few useful works and advised his students not to bother with the others, which 'contained the same matter, and in pretty much the same manner'.[4] The earlier authors had said most of what there was to be said about patrolling and setting an ambush, and their successors could do little but repeat, elaborate, and illustrate the basic principles by examples drawn successively from the Seven Years War, the Corsican expedition, the wars in America, and the campaigns in Flanders and along the Rhine in the seventeen-nineties. And yet the urge to write and publish essentially the same material persisted well beyond the needs of working out a new doctrine and new tactics.

[1] [Anonymous], *Der Schützen-Dienst für Jäger- und Schützen-Offiziere bey der Infanterie und Kavallerie* (Königsberg, 1807), especially pp. 34–8. A later example is contained in a work by the Prussian general Johann von Hinrich, *Anweisung zum Felddienst für die Landwehr* (Stargard, 1813). On p. 67, the author tries to apply to the Prussian service a manoeuvre he observed during the War for Independence: 'When these Indians move into the field, it is their main concern to hide their strength from the enemy: therefore they walk one behind the other, each stepping into the other's footprints.'

[2] De la Croix, *Traité de la petite guerre* (Paris, 1752). The work was reprinted in 1759, and translated into German in 1755.

[3] A good contemporary bibliography can be found in J. G. Hoyer's *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* (Göttingen, 1799–1800), ii. 865–7, 1088–9. Today, the most convenient source of information is M. Jähn's *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften vornehmlich in Deutschland* (Munich-Leipzig, 1889–91), iii. 2710–23. Recently Professor Hahlweg has discussed some of the early manuals in *Preussische Reformzeit und revolutionärer Krieg*, Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau, Beiheft 18, 1962.

[4] Lectures on the little war; 'Final remark on the little war.' University of Munster, Clausewitz Archiv.

Together with their tactical and technical advice, the books reiterated two major points. The men engaged in partisan operations must be particularly reliable. They must act responsibly even though, unlike the soldiers of the line, they are not subjected to close tactical and disciplinary control. Further, the men must act naturally. Nature, in fact, is the great underlying theme of the books. The war they discussed was not one of rules and conventions, but one of instinct. The men waging it must be able to live off the country, their uniforms should not be for show, but comfortable and unobtrusive, and their weapons must be practical—'the sword being good only for the parade ground'.[1] Above all, the soldiers must not fight like the living marionettes and clockwork musketeers of the line, but like hunters and foresters, like natural men.

The changes rung in these passages are of course in profound harmony with the spirit of the age. The cry 'Return to Nature', which comes to us from all parts of European society of the time, was only superficially a call for a peaceful retreat to some sylvan rococo haven. At least in the works of its great propagandists it queried the very conventions that had come to dominate life, and instead expressed an acceptance of the irrational, of instinctive human nature. In the realm of military affairs, the books on irregular warfare carried a similar message. Without going to the length of calling manoeuvre strategy and linear tactics as such into question, they and the operations they describe showed that there were aspects of war where convention had no place and where success depended on the individual initiative of many. In contrast to the prevailing doctrine of scientific warfare, which sought to rule out chance as far as possible in its methodical progress towards limited objectives, the writers on irregular war taught the soldier—and his commander—that he must learn to live with the unexpected. In this they approached the attitude of a coming generation, of Napoleon and Clausewitz, who accepted accident as part of reality, and tried to exploit the unforeseen opportunities it created. In their conception of the individual soldier, too, the books on the little war formed a bridge to the future. The reliability of skirmisher and sharpshooter, no longer assured by the close physical proximity of linear formations, would henceforth be at least partially guaranteed by the irrational forces of patriotism, of enthusiasm for the cause they represented.

Here the significance of America becomes evident: the War for Independence provided a compelling example of men fighting of their own free will. But this political message was perhaps less important than a more ambiguous call to the European military imagination. The concept of the 'natural man' was closely related to that of the 'new world'. The regions where the innate qualities of the soldier were felt to exist in their purest form were not, after all, the forests of Germany or the Corsican mountains, but India and America—the homes of the idealized natural man. The literature on irregular war, with its focus on nature and physical—if not

[1] Grandmaison, p. 19.

political—freedom, was thus a companion in the military realm to such immensely popular works as Raynal's *History of the East and West Indies*, which served the late eighteenth century as an 'inexhaustible basis for the knowledge and enthusiastic praise of exotic conditions'.[1] That much of the lore was false did not lessen its emotional appeal. In the last analysis, what mattered was that the Indies existed, and that life there was very different, not only for the natives but also for the European immigrants, who had found their way back to a more perfect state of being. In his discussion on the 'happiness of the inhabitants in the British colonies of North America', the Abbé Raynal did not hesitate to claim that

> it is in the colonies that men lead such a rural life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. . . . It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue [to] love during their whole life what was the object of their first affection, that innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.[2]

When Goethe wrote 'Amerika, du hast es besser'—he envied the new world not for what it possessed, but for what he, with poetic licence, imagined it lacked: the constricting forces of history. Similarly, for European military reform at the end of the century, the real function of colonial wars lay not in any concrete lessons they might have offered, but simply in their foreign, exotic aspect. Many of the great and minor figures in the military reform movements of the time showed little special interest in colonial wars—Scharnhorst and Clausewitz are two examples. We might guess that they needed no outside inspiration to spur them on. But for others, America and India could provide an emotional point of leverage from which their own world might be changed. The noble savage was hardly savage or noble, the American rifleman most probably fought with a blunderbuss; but they caught the European's imagination. Their condition differed from his, and this by itself made it easier for him to envisage and bring about change at home.

PETER PARET

[1] E. Cassirer, 'Das Problem Jean Jacques Rousseau', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, xli (1932), 188.

[2] G. T. F. Raynal, *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, transl. J. Justamond (Dublin, 1779), iv. 361. It is worth noting that Raynal's work enjoyed great popularity among soldiers; indeed, the translator of the German version, Major Jakob Mauvillon, was a well-known writer on military subjects.

The Second Labour Government and the Restoration of Relations with Soviet Russia (1929)

THE ACHIEVEMENT of the two Labour governments in Britain between the wars is commonly rated very low on the domestic side. It has been otherwise in the case of foreign policy, where much credit has accrued to Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson for having taken some bold and purposeful steps in pursuit of peace and international co-operation. The object of this article is not to challenge this generally sound estimate, but rather to suggest its modification by examining in detail a single transaction connected with one of Labour's continuing foreign policy objectives, that of securing a satisfactory *modus vivendi* with Soviet Russia. The efforts of the 1924 Labour government in this direction have been carefully assessed.[1] Those of 1929–31, owing largely to their less consequential and dramatic nature, have been neglected,[2] yet at the outset they brought into reasonably precise focus all of the possibilities and perplexities which ordinarily arose when a socialist government in a democratic state undertook serious dealings with Stalinist Russia. An examination of them should yield some conclusions respecting (i) the play of forces around the Russian problem in 1929; (ii) the competence of the party's leadership in formulating and realizing its goals; and (iii), inferentially, the bearing which its experience has on the larger subject of relations between governments professing a radical or socialist commitment and the U.S.S.R.

When Arthur Henderson became Foreign Secretary in June 1929, he assembled the permanent Foreign Office staff and read aloud appropriate sections of *Labour and the Nation*, concluding on the note that 'there could be too much "continuity" in foreign policy.'[3] His meaning was clear; on several major issues Labour had spoken decisively against the policies of

[1] The best recent treatments are in R. W. Lyman, *The First Labour Government* (1957); and S. R. Graubard, *British Labour and the Russian Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956). Soviet accounts, predictably hostile to MacDonald, are in I. M. Lemin, *Vneshniaia politika Velikobritanii ot Versalia do Lokarno* (Moscow, 1947); and F. D. Volkov, *Krakh angliiskoi politiki interventsii i diplomaticheskoi izolatsii sovetskovo gosudarstva, 1917–1924 gg.* (Moscow, 1954).

[2] The only fairly full account is in W. P. and Zelda Coates, *A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations* (2 vols., 1943–59), i, chap. xiii; written by professional advocates of Anglo-Russian friendship, this work consistently interprets British policy in terms of right-wing attempts to engineer anti-Soviet coalitions.

[3] For Henderson at the Foreign Office see M. A. Hamilton, *Arthur Henderson: a Biography* (1938); H. Dalton, *Call Back Yesterday: Memoirs, 1887–1931* (1953); Lord (Robert) Vansittart, *The Mist Procession* (1958); and H. R. Winkler, 'Arthur Henderson,' in *The Diplomats*, ed. G. Craig and F. Gilbert (Princeton, 1953), pp. 311–43.

Sir Austen Chamberlain and the Conservatives. One of these was relations with Soviet Russia, since 1917 a kind of 'political football', whose inept handling had brought the first MacDonald ministry to the edge of defeat. Subsequently the Conservatives, aroused by Soviet 'intervention' in the General Strike, had used the continuation of Communist propaganda and intrigue to justify the abrupt cessation of ordinary diplomatic intercourse (in May 1927, after the 'Arcos Raid'). Down to the general election of 1929, Labour's frequent importunings had done nothing toward relaxing the government's intransigent stance.

The second Labour government's dealings with Soviet Russia may best be approached by way of a series of questions, of which the first is, what considerations prompted the party actively to seek an improvement in Anglo-Soviet relations as they then stood? All Labourites subscribed to the economic argument that the best current hope for British industry, then afflicted by obsolescence, rising tariff barriers, and an over-valued pound sterling, lay in an enormous expansion of exports to the U.S.S.R. Those whose hopes were pinned to the disarmament and genuine pacification of Europe never tired of insisting that these were unattainable without Soviet participation. Beside these motives there stood another, which held far greater appeal for the extremists (then mainly concentrated in the Independent Labour Party) than for the moderates who dominated party councils. Put at its lowest this was a determination to afford the Soviets a fair and unobstructed chance to work out their own destiny; at its highest this was a desire to achieve in Britain that drastic reorganization of society which would permit genuine ideological solidarity with the first 'workers' state'. Not even the most tepid moderates were prepared to renounce the Soviet Union and its 'great experiment in socialism'; but only the doctrinaire minority was willing to embrace the Communist solution in anything like its entirety. For the party leadership the improvement of trade relations was paramount, though Henderson and his parliamentary under-secretary, Hugh Dalton, fairly represented those whose preoccupation was international amity. The extremists were forced to operate around the edges, insinuating their views whenever possible, but never actually determining policy; this was nominally Henderson's task, but in fact MacDonald sometimes intervened, with unsettling results.

In the second place it is appropriate to ask what features of Soviet internal and external policy operated to advance or retard the improvement of relations with Britain. Here the preponderant fact was that the U.S.S.R. had just launched the first Five-year Plan, whose implications were direct and simple: peace was absolutely essential during the vulnerable period of sharpest transition, along with economic support in the form of machinery and technical assistance from the heavily industrialized countries. Since 1927 the Russians had been participating—not always very helpfully—in the work of the Preparatory Commission for Disarmament, and they had showed a disconcerting readiness to ratify and implement the Kellogg–Briand Pact. Beside these evidences of a more pacific, co-operative disposition there now

stood Stalin's recent triumph over the so-called 'Left Opposition', an event which encouraged the belief that 'the commercial contacts with "capitalistic" countries which were necessary for the success of the Plan would no longer be upset by the injudicious thunderbolts of Zinoviev'.[1]

All this augured well, but it was powerfully offset at Moscow by intense, deep-seated Soviet suspicions of Britain's role as the bulwark of international capitalism, and by the lively contempt which Soviet leaders continued to express toward the 'bourgeois socialists' and 'class traitors' who headed the British Labour movement and who obstinately refused to subordinate themselves to the makers of the first successful proletarian revolution. The Russians had, moreover, already developed close economic connexions with Germany, whose government was willing to underwrite large orders for industrial equipment. And, despite the absence of official recognition from the United States government, the Soviets were finding a growing number of American businessmen prepared to invest in Communism's future.[2] Stalin was thus in the enviable position of being a heavy purchaser in the sluggish markets of the capitalist world; he could distribute his orders with an eye to political as well as economic advantage. Britain was a highly valuable trading partner, but far more on account of its ability to absorb and pay for Soviet exports than as a source of imports, most of which were obtainable elsewhere.

The third question which needs to be answered is, what was the nature and strength of domestic opposition to Labour's policy toward the U.S.S.R.? Here the evidence is ambiguous. There were indications by 1929 that the 'Bolshevist' menace had lost some of its cutting edge. To many it appeared that 'the Labour party had shaken off the pretensions of the Communists and their foreign fraternities'.[3] Winston Churchill praised Labour for its firm rejections of overtures from the Communist party in Britain; elsewhere he wrote, 'Socialists and Populists are fast trooping back from the blind alleys of thought and scrambling out of the pits of action into which the Russians have blundered'.[4] Even *The Times* could note, in a leader, 'the steady divorce from domestic controversies of our foreign and Imperial affairs'.[5] Nor is there reason to doubt that many British firms were actively interested in the Russian market and in recent Soviet offers to purchase goods up to the amount of £30,000,000 per year.[6]

[1] W. N. Medlicott, *British Foreign Policy since Versailles* (1940), p. 112.

[2] For a convenient résumé of the terms on which the U.S.S.R. purchased abroad during these years see the *Economist* (7 Nov. 1931), 848–9.

[3] K. Feiling, *The Life of Neville Chamberlain* (1946), p. 159.

[4] Hansard, *Parl. Debates*, 5th ser., Commons, ccxxii (1929), cols. 257–8; W. S. Churchill, *The Aftermath: The World Crisis—1918–1928* (New York, 1929), p. 64.

[5] 31 May 1929.

[6] On this subject see W. P. Coates, *Why Anglo-Soviet Relations Should Be Restored* (1928); and the same writer's *The Tories and Russian Trade* (1929); and A. A. Volkov, *Anglo-sovetskie otnosheniia, 1924–1929 gg.* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 399–413. See also E. Remnant, 'The British industrial mission to Russia', *English Review* (July 1929), 27–41. Remnant, the leader of the mission, concluded that a

Against these promising signs, however, must be set certain intractable facts. For the second time the MacDonald ministry lacked an absolute majority in the Commons; its life-expectancy was conjectural, its dependence on the Liberals inescapable.[1] Soviet offers to buy were invariably conditioned by demands for the extension of private credit or, alternatively, the grant of a government loan. Most private firms were still chary of the Soviets, whose policies of confiscation and repudiation remained lively and unhappy memories. The experience of the 1924 Labour government, moreover, furnished a fair gauge of the hostility which would encounter any loan to the Communists guaranteed by the British government—at least until such time as the Soviets acknowledged and redeemed the prewar and wartime debts of the tsarist régime. The Conservatives were, at this juncture, internally divided over the questions of Baldwin's leadership and Empire free trade; hence they were all the more apt to rally to an emotion-charged cause in which they might submerge their differences. It is clear, then, that although Labour had some grounds for cautious optimism, the task of securing a substantial improvement in Anglo-Soviet relations was uncommonly intricate and difficult.

In the matter of procedure there were several avenues open to the Foreign Secretary. Once it was established that the Conservative *démarche* in 1927 had only suspended routine diplomatic relations and had not constituted a withdrawal of 'recognition' as such, the immediate problem was to return relations to a normal footing.[2] Ordinarily this could be accomplished by simple executive act, performed without direct reference to parliament. The Russians clamoured for the immediate, unconditional exchange of ambassadors, and many Labourites reportedly felt that nothing short of this would 'soothe Soviet pride, suspicion, and inferiority complex'.[3] Had the government chosen so to act, it is highly probable that Liberal support would have been forthcoming.[4] But it is virtually certain that the Conservatives, in parliament and the press, would have subjected the government to a torrent of abuse and worked swiftly to recreate the oppressive, reproachful

large market (£200 million over the next five years) was potentially available and should be sought; he considered Britain and Russia 'mutually indispensable' in economic terms but opposed any government-guaranteed loan, at least until the Soviets had acknowledged and begun to discharge their debts.

[1] The Labour party controlled approximately 287 seats, the Conservatives 261, the Liberals 59; unlike 1924, mere abstention by the Liberals would not produce a Conservative majority.

[2] Henderson was evidently surprised to discover that 'recognition' was not at issue (Dalton, p. 229; Hamilton, p. 294). Even after he explained the situation in the Commons (Hansard, *Parl. Debates*, 5th ser., Commons, ccxxix, cols. 418, 465–6), however, MacDonald and others continued to speak of 'recognition'; and the *Fortnightly Review* for October carried several articles addressed to the question, 'Shall we recognise Russia?'

[3] Dalton, pp. 229–30.

[4] Lloyd George promised Liberal support for an immediate resumption at a party caucus on 13 June; *The Times*, 14 June 1929.

climate in which the first Labour government had foundered. The Labour leadership understandably had no desire to inaugurate its entire programme in such an atmosphere; instead it chose to proceed with deliberate caution.

The avenue which the government finally followed was highly circuitous but not for that reason much more successful. Henderson clearly understood that the mere restoration of relations, unaccompanied by either a settlement of debts and claims or by assurances respecting Communist propaganda and intrigue, would be nearly worthless. The desired expansion of trade, in particular, depended heavily on the confidence of British manufacturers, who alone could furnish the necessary credits. Alternative routes to the same goal—a government loan or the application of direct pressure in the form of a threat to close the British market to Russia unless the Soviets increased their purchases in the United Kingdom—were never seriously considered, the former because of its unwelcome political repercussions, the latter because it was alien to the 'free trade' orthodoxy of Philip Snowden and bore the distasteful look of 'discrimination' against the U.S.S.R. For years, moreover, Labour had championed the cause of 'open diplomacy' and insisted on the desirability of ventilating foreign policy decisions in parliament. While the more impetuous members of the left wing were willing to dispense with this requirement in Russia's case, the leadership could not so easily disavow its past. Finally, there was the additional, and novel, complication that the Conservatives, shortly before the election, had notified the governments of India and the Dominions that no change in relations with the U.S.S.R. would be undertaken until they had been consulted.[1] Whether this was an honest attempt to facilitate that co-ordination of foreign policy which was to be a feature of the emerging Commonwealth, or a discreditable Conservative manoeuvre to harass Labour in the event of an electoral defeat, is hard to say. Its effect, at any rate, was to fortify the tendency toward deliberate action on Labour's part.

Relations with Russia figured prominently in the opening sessions of the new parliament. On 2 July, during the debate on the address, Stanley Baldwin pressed to know whether the present government adhered to the terms which MacDonald had laid down in his Note on the 'Zinoviev (or "Red") Letter' of 1924. At that time the Soviet government's organic connexion with the Comintern had been flatly asserted. MacDonald replied that all parties understood the significance of the position then taken, and that his new ministry did not mean to depart from it. This unequivocal statement, which the Soviets were sure to reject, has been represented as a

[1] *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939*, 2nd ser., ed. E. L. Woodward and others (1946–60), vii, no. 1. Although Henderson later reported (Hansard, *Parl. Debates*, 5th ser., Commons, ccxxxi, cols. 895–904) that the Dominion governments 'generally recognised that the renewal of relations was sooner or later inevitable', the correspondence has not been published, nor is there any record of Labour's reaction to this unusual Conservative commitment.

'blunder' for which the prime minister was solely responsible.[1] Yet such an accusation ignores the genuine difficulty of MacDonald's situation; he could hardly have answered differently without reversing a stand which he, Snowden, and others had repeatedly taken, nor without blurring the carefully constructed image of British Labour as a hard-headed party definitely capable of keeping Communism at arm's length. Even conceding that MacDonald was less anxious than his own moderates for a *rapprochement* with Moscow, his response was both considered and necessary. The effect of his remarks, nonetheless, was to put the ensuing negotiations on a treacherous footing and to expose the government to attack whenever any organ of world Communism so much as hinted at anti-British designs.

Subsequent discussion of relations with Russia turned largely on the questions of propaganda and trade. In the Commons on 5 July Henderson dealt at length, and somewhat confusingly, with the former. In the course of his speech he (i) insisted that propaganda 'ought not to be a subject for debate'; (ii) explicitly reaffirmed MacDonald's stand on the Comintern; and (iii) asked pointedly: 'Are our relations with a great people like Russia to turn upon the issue either of a leading article from *Pravda* or quotations from a Manifesto of the Third International? I hope not.' He concluded that if the Russians had learned anything from recent experience, 'They will be prepared to give the most definite undertaking they are capable of seeing carried out. If they do so, we are not entitled to expect more.' Thus neatly did his remarks illustrate the hopeless conflict between the political imperative not to seem to countenance Communist propaganda and the powerful desire to restore normal diplomatic, and especially commercial, relations.

Impatience at the government's dilatory approach was expressed by several left-wing Labourites, who also ridiculed the Conservatives' 'exaggerated' fears of the Comintern. That body's influence in Asia was visibly declining; Communist propaganda was merely a 'bogey' used for domestic political ends, 'and not always the best ends'. More concretely they urged the openhanded extension to Anglo-Soviet trade of the provisions of the Export Credits Act, by means of which foreign purchases of British manufactures were guaranteed by the government to a certain percentage of their value. Not precisely a government loan, this device did have a very limited utility as a stimulus to the export trades; and the government applied it to certain Soviet orders at the beginning of August.[2] This was hardly a triumph for the left wing, however, for the moderates had long had this step in contemplation.

Liberal support was signified by Walter Runciman, who advanced the time-worn 'free trade' argument that politics and economics were autonomous concerns. He maintained, somewhat remarkably in the circumstances, that the recent decline in Soviet purchases was owing to the

[1] Coates, *History of Anglo-Soviet Relations*, i. 321, reporting an unidentified Cabinet member who said, 'Mac's statement was made impromptu; he did not stop to think and now has put his foot in it with a vengeance.'

[2] See the announcement in *The Times*, 26 July 1929.

exhaustion of Soviet resources and credit, and not to a specifically political determination to show displeasure at the Arcos Raid and its sequel. Even so he favoured the return of British diplomats to Russia to assist what commerce there was, and hoped that a restoration of Russian credit at some future time would be followed by an expansion of Anglo-Soviet trade. His inclination to detach economic questions from international politics was still widespread in a country moving only haltingly away from 'free trade'; it failed signally to take the measure of the political economy of the postwar world, especially that of Soviet Russia.

When Henderson formally opened negotiations on 15 July, he invited the Soviets to send an emissary to discuss 'the most expeditious procedure for reaching as rapidly as possible a friendly and mutually satisfactory settlement of the outstanding questions between the two countries including those relating to propaganda and debts'.[1] How he might have developed this overture—whether, in particular, he would have been satisfied with agreement over procedural measures for resolving the questions of debts and claims—is uncertain. For that same day, in the house of commons, MacDonald again revealed his addiction to 'open diplomacy', along with the dimensions of his caution, when he volunteered the promise that, whatever the government's decision regarding 'recognition', no action would be taken until the House had debated the matter. With the summer recess due shortly to begin, this had the effect of deferring the actual restoration of relations until at least late October.

What, precisely, MacDonald had in mind can only be conjectured. Perhaps he simply failed to comprehend the wishes of his followers and some of his colleagues; perhaps he wanted to ward off Conservative criticism for the time being; certainly he was unconvinced of the urgency of the Russian negotiations. Henderson 'made a row' at the next Cabinet over this gratuitous restriction on his handling of the transaction. Dalton informed MacDonald that the Liberals would have supported an immediate resumption of relations—a point about which the prime minister had some presumably genuine, if unfounded, reservations. Once MacDonald became fully aware of the intense desire of his own rank and file for rapid action, he decided to reverse himself and offered to request parliamentary authorization to proceed at once. At this point Henderson intervened. Unwelcome as the delay was, he was persuaded that 'Russia was not the only pebble on the beach'. He was determined not to give a handle to the government's resourceful and tireless critics. He insisted, successfully, that MacDonald's original statement be allowed to stand.[2]

The Soviet response to Henderson's invitation assented to the proposed

[1] *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd ser., vii, no. 3.

[2] Dalton, pp. 230–1; Hamilton, pp. 310–11. The *New Statesman* had already noted (13 July 1929, p. 425) that some Labour leaders apparently regarded relations with Russia as 'a question of secondary importance'. On the likelihood of Liberal support see *Manchester Guardian*, 18 July 1929.

discussions provided they were confined to matters of procedure; A. V. Dovgalevsky, Soviet plenipotentiary at Paris, was instructed to meet with Henderson in London.[1] Simultaneously the Soviet press asserted that the restoration of relations would hardly constitute an 'act of charity' on Britain's part, and added that any attempts to impose terms or conditions would be met instantly by Soviet counterclaims.[2] Plainly the Soviets were approaching the negotiations with a very narrow conception of their scope and with the conviction that they were less dependent than formerly on normal relations with Great Britain.

The Conservatives, meanwhile, were busily developing the pattern of their resistance to any dealings with Russia. Propaganda and the Comintern naturally bulked largest in their attack, but no opportunity was missed to badger the Foreign Secretary with leading questions about religious persecution and forced labour in the U.S.S.R., or about the implications of Soviet military activity in North China. The tenacious problem of tsarist debts was kept before the public by parliamentary inquiries and letters to the press, the gist of which was that a debt settlement should be a *sine qua non* of further negotiations.[3] Henderson, who wanted no 'repetition of Russian rows or scares on either side', refused to make debt redemption an absolute condition of renewed relations and refused equally to be drawn on the other queries.[4] Yet the Conservatives would not relent. A *Times* editorial distilled their hopes regarding the scheduled talks into a single sentence: 'Arthur Henderson has so definitely promised to insist upon exactly the conditions laid down by Sir Austen Chamberlain that, on the face of it, the invitation is only a gesture.'[5]

In a memorandum prepared for Henderson's use during the oncoming negotiations the Foreign Office staff noted that the Soviets considered 'even the promise of good behaviour not as a right to which a country with which they are at peace is entitled, but as a point which they will concede under sufficient pressure or for sufficent inducement'. Hence it recommended obtaining a general commitment to refrain from hostile propaganda, not because such a pledge would be enforced—there was 'no real expectation that Communist propaganda and intrigue will stop'—but because it would give the British government a *locus standi* whenever it decided unilaterally that its interests were being adversely affected. In addition the memorandum urged the Foreign Secretary to intimate, privately but unmistakably, that he would hold the Soviet government accountable for the outpourings of the Comintern.[6] Such was the immediate background to the first Anglo-Soviet negotiations in several years.

[1] *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd ser., vii, no. 5.
[2] *Pravda*, 24 July 1929.
[3] See, e.g., *The Times* for 12 June and 16 July 1929; and Hansard, *Parl. Debates*, 5th ser., Commons, ccxxix, col. 894 and ccxxx, col. 40.
[4] Hamilton, p. 311.
[5] 26 July 1929.
[6] *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd ser., vii, no. 9.

When Dovgalevsky arrived at London his initial demand was for the immediate exchange of ambassadors, with all other questions being reserved for subsequent consideration. Henderson countered by citing MacDonald's pledge to parliament. The time thus made available, he continued, would best be used to establish the lines along which outstanding problems could be settled; 'it might even be possible to make some concrete advance in certain of the questions for discussion'. Here Henderson, by proposing consideration of substantive issues, clearly exceeded the terms of his invitation and gave the Soviets, who were already annoyed at Labour's dilatory approach, a convenient pretext to break off negotiations for a month while they affected to examine this 'new circumstance'.[1] Despite efforts by the Foreign Office and the *Daily Herald* to show that only procedural matters—the 'machinery for settlement'—were involved, the Soviets insisted that Henderson had tried to change the rules once play had begun; they refused to be mollified.[2]

Henderson's conduct on this occasion was as well-intentioned as it was ineffective. The Soviet terms were well known, and there was no doubt that any debt settlement, whenever undertaken, would have to compass Soviet demands for credits or a guaranteed loan. Since Henderson could furnish neither of these he might better have acknowledged the poverty of his resources and deferred the debt question until later. As it was, his apparently firm stand won the plaudits of the Opposition for the time being; but when he subsequently accepted a less ambitious solution he was exposed to charges of abject surrender.

The suspension of negotiations was followed on Labour's side by a series of moves designed to re-establish contact with the Russians. Early in August, while Henderson was at The Hague, MacDonald sent Dalton 'a very reasonable version of our requirements on Russian propaganda and debts', which he wanted 'conveyed discreetly' to the strongly pro-Russian members of the party.[3] Having better gauged the temper of his followers, the prime minister was belatedly trying to recover the posture of leadership. On 8 August Dalton announced the government's readiness to meet the Russians half-way—discussing, that is, only procedural questions—provided they evinced a sincere desire to settle debts and claims in the near

[1] *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd ser., vii, nos. 10, 11. The Foreign Office staff had already recommended against raising the question of debts and claims during the preliminary stages.

[2] *The Times*, 2 Aug. 1929; *Daily Herald*, 2 Aug. 1929. M. A. Hamilton's version (*Arthur Henderson*, p. 311), that this was 'a good start . . . quickly and efficiently followed up,' is misleading. For the Soviet version, which stresses Henderson's insistence on discussing all controverted matters, see *Soviet Union Review* (Washington, D.C.), September 1929, p. 136. According to Louis Fischer, Maxim Litvinov told him at this point that the Russians 'would maintain their stand even if it meant no relations with England during the entire term of the MacDonald cabinet', *The Soviets in World Affairs* (rev. edn., Princeton, 1951), ii. 818.

[3] Dalton, p. 231.

future.[1] There was no Russian response until early September, however, after Henderson had stated his wish to arrange 'only the procedure and programme for subsequent negotiations', and after the Trades Union Congress had passed an emergency resolution urging immediate steps to restore relations and expand trade.[2] Encouraged by these evidences of favourable pressures building up within Labour's ranks, the Soviets agreed to resume the talks on 24 September. That day's *Times* professed to be at a loss to explain this development, since both sides were still adamant on the question of propaganda; unless the Soviets had modified their stand, it concluded, the new negotiations must end exactly as did the old. In fact they ended very differently, though their passage was far from smooth.

After Dovgalevsky returned to London it required four sessions of hard bargaining to produce a draft protocol expressing mutual intent to restore diplomatic relations. Henderson insisted throughout that a reciprocal undertaking to refrain from hostile propaganda be announced not later than the moment when ambassadors were exchanged.[3] The Russians countered that the propaganda problem was 'not a new one and was not likely to raise new difficulties', but finally assented when Henderson made it plain that parliament would accept nothing less. At his insistence the protocol also included provision for machinery, in the form of a 'joint committee of experts', to examine the questions of debts and claims; Dovgalevsky agreed only grudgingly and entered several reservations respecting the committee's area of competence and methods of procedure.[4] In the matter of off-shore fisheries the Foreign Secretary was less successful. His efforts to get provisional recognition of the 1923 'understanding', which had stipulated non-interference beyond the three-mile limit, were firmly rejected. No substantive problems were to be negotiated until after relations had been restored.[5]

Just prior to the final drafting of the protocol, which was done at the White Hart hotel, Lewes, Henderson took up the nub of the propaganda problem, the Comintern. Unless the Soviet government formally assumed responsibility for its operations, no guarantee would be of any real value; yet this was precisely what the Soviets flatly refused to do. Rather than see the negotiations fail on this point, Henderson adopted the only sensible alternative, which was to insist that the British government would in future hold the Soviet government accountable. Dovgalevsky reverted at once to the traditional legalistic formula, saying that his government would not be bound by such reservations, but would 'loyally carry out' those obligations which

[1] *The Times*, 10 Aug. 1929.

[2] *Daily Herald*, 5 Sept. 1929.

[3] Despite Foreign Office and other advice to the contrary, Henderson never contemplated exchanging representatives of lesser rank.

[4] *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd ser., vii, nos. 20, 21, 24.

[5] *Ibid.*, nos. 19, 21.

it had accepted.[1] The British stand was not unwise; it explicitly reserved the right to act if that were judged necessary. But the basic problem was left unsolved. The contradictory interpretations of the guarantee promptly became a fertile source of Conservative attacks which discomfited the government in all its subsequent dealings with the Russians.

The achievement of the protocol at Lewes won high praise at the annual Labour party conference which had opened on 30 September at nearby Brighton. Taken together with the signing of the Optional Clause and the agreement over early evacuation of the Rhineland, it seemed to buttress the party executive's claim that 'the outlook for a real and constructive World Peace was never more hopeful than at the present time'.[2] Already there were evidences of disaffection within the party at the leadership's timorous approach to unemployment; more than anything else it was these substantial achievements in foreign policy which kept reconciled to the ministry, at least for the time being, its outspoken critics in the I.L.P. Henderson's speech to the conference, in which he referred to the protocol as an election pledge redeemed, was 'cheered to the echo'.[3] The enthusiasm was natural. Not only were the Soviets eliminating unemployment (along with much else) at home, but agents of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade were speaking appealingly of orders for British goods totalling £150 million over the next five years. Yet in the excitement the conference failed to take a proper measure of the very limited and conditional nature of the *rapprochement*.

The Foreign Secretary's momentary popularity with the Right ended abruptly with the publication of the protocol. Editorially *The Times* insisted that Henderson, by abandoning his firm stand of the previous July, had in effect 'surrendered' to the Russians,[4] a charge that was repeated and orchestrated in the months which followed. Baldwin had already promised that 'any deviation from the safeguards and guarantees laid down by the Conservatives will meet with our uncompromising hostility'—a promise which was more faithfully kept than most.[5] Even those few Conservatives who favoured a restoration, Duff Cooper among them, were critical of Labour's handling of the negotiations because they conveyed the lamentable impression of confusion and weakness.[6]

The pro-Labour press took up the cudgels on Henderson's behalf. The *New Statesman* held no brief for the efficacy of Comintern propaganda and maintained that normal, amicable relations were the most likely means of deflating Soviet 'war scares' and fostering trade; in its view only sustained commercial contacts and the reduction of fear of foreign invasion would

[1] *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, 2nd ser., vii, no. 22. For a recent Soviet account of Henderson's 'capitulation' on this occasion, see V. I. Popov, *Anglo-sovetskie otnosheniia, 1927–1929 gg.* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 172–3.

[2] *Report of the 29th Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1929), p. 3.

[3] J. MacNair, *James Maxton: the Beloved Rebel* (1955), p. 196; R. Postgate, *The Life of George Lansbury* (1951), pp. 259–60; *Daily Herald*, 3 Oct. 1929.

[4] *The Times*, 2 Oct. 1929.

[5] *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1929.

[6] A. Duff Cooper, 'Shall we recognise Russia?', *Fortnightly Review* (Oct. 1929), 433–8.

permit the Soviet system to evolve, presumably in the direction of diminished militancy and increased domestic liberty.[1]

This expectation that more amiable relations with the West, combined with the maturing of the Soviet economy, would blunt the edge of revolutionary fervour was fairly widespread among the British Left. It figured prominently in a systematic defence of Labour's policy prepared by Charles Roden Buxton, M.P. After making a virtue of the deferral of substantive discussions until after the exchange of ambassadors, Buxton reiterated the argument that only by giving positive evidence of its friendly disposition could Britain hope to discredit charges that the West was busily forming anti-Soviet coalitions. He feared that prolonged severance of contact would only serve the ends of the present generation of Soviet rulers (who were distinguished from the less fanatical masses) by perpetuating popular ignorance of the aspirations and accomplishments of European socialists. He also feared that further delay might damage irreparably Britain's chances of securing its proper share of Russia's import trade. The location and numbers of the Russian people, in any event, made good relations with them an essential factor in the maintenance of peace.[2]

Labour's approach to the Russian problem thus combined a fair appreciation of Britain's national interests with a sizeable amount of unjustified optimism. The pacification of Europe depended, *inter alia*, on some kind of accommodation with the Soviet Union. Disarmament for the nations of Eastern Europe was unthinkable without Russian participation; the fact that disarmament actually failed for very different reasons does not vitiate the force of this argument. Nor can it be doubted that a manifold increase in Soviet purchases would have eased, if not solved, the unemployment problem, or that the Conservative policy of flat negation was sterile. Yet Labour lacked altogether the means, in the form of private credits or a government loan, to produce this desired result. And the notion that there was a Russian people, distinct from the Soviet government, which would be somehow favourably affected by the presence of a few British diplomats and tradesmen was sadly out of alignment with the real situation inside the U.S.S.R. Such changes as have occurred in the Soviet Union, both then and later, are almost entirely owing to internal pressures, not suasion from the outside. Although the Soviets had long since begun to subordinate the interests of world revolution to those of the Russian state, they never abjured their faith in the former, nor did the ascendancy of the latter necessarily make for improved relations with tsardom's long-time enemy. The Soviet rulers were openly contemptuous of Labour's leadership and not minded to give it any quarter—*Pravda*, for example, called the protocol a 'victory for Soviet firmness' and spoke of the 'rout' of the 'pseudo-Labour government'. More than good intentions, confined to one side,

[1] 5 Oct. 1929, pp. 765–6.

[2] C. R. Buxton, 'Shall we recognise Russia?', *Fortnightly Review* (Oct. 1929), 439–45.

were needed to produce a material change in the texture of Anglo-Soviet relations.

The signing of the protocol did not mark the end of the process of restoring relations. Before the ambassadors presented their credentials in mid-December there were several bitterly partisan debates on Russian policy in the house of commons, leading in each case, however, to confirmation of the government's position. In the Lords things went differently; a Conservative motion to the effect that the 'recognition [*sic*] of Soviet Russia is at the present time undesirable' was passed, and though it had no constitutional significance, it did register effectively the distemper on the Right. Nor were the Soviets very obliging when it came to making arrangements for the propaganda guarantee; they agreed to extend the guarantee to the Dominions only after Henderson threatened to postpone the ceremonial reception of the Soviet ambassador until they did so. It is difficult, even at this remove, to suggest ways in which the Labour government might have improved on its showing in terms of results, but in terms of methods it seems fair to conclude that MacDonald and Henderson, working awkwardly in harness, managed only to make the worst of an impossible situation.

DONALD N. LAMMERS

Notes and Documents

An Eleventh-Century Copy of the Norman Laudes Regiae

IN HIS STUDY of the liturgical acclamations made before the medieval sovereigns, popes, and bishops, Professor Kantorowicz has discussed the *Laudes* sung in honour of the dukes of Normandy.[1] His main text is of the eleventh century, being found in a contemporary manuscript of Boethius, from Fécamp, now MS. 489 (A.254) in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Rouen, where it is written on a blank leaf, fo. 71, at the end of the book.[2] In it Duke William is acclaimed in the third section of the acclamations; the first being the pope, the second the French king. It was first published in facsimile by H. Loriquet, Dom J. Pothier and the Abbé Colette in their edition of *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIIIe siècle* printed at Rouen in 1907.[3] The Rouen *Laudes* are written on a single page in a good book hand; the text continuing without any break for twenty lines. Neumes are written above in the same ink and are presumably by the same hand. As the Rouen manuscript contains the earliest surviving example of the Norman *laudes* it is of some interest to be able to record the existence of another eleventh-century copy of the same text also apparently from Fécamp. The new text is to be found written on a blank page of the eleventh-century manuscript, No. 89, in the library of the dean and chapter of Salisbury[4]; a copy of a series of eight orations of St. Gregory Nazianzenus in the Latin version of Rufinus.[5] The *laudes* are written on the recto of the first folio, the verso containing the title page of the main text. They are set out in exactly the same manner as those in the Rouen manuscript and the music is identical. They are clearly a pair and there seems good reason for believing that they were written at Fécamp.

Kantorowicz and the editors of the Rouen Gradual assigned the text to Fécamp on the grounds that St. Frodmundus, bishop of Coutances, is invoked during the acclamations. This attribution was also strengthened by the fact that the Rouen manuscript was preserved in the library of that

[1] E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1946), pp. 167, 168.

[2] See *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, Départements*, i (Paris, 1886), pp. 106, 107.

[3] Vol. 1, pl. 1. I am grateful to the Superior and the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, for the loan of this rare book.

[4] I am grateful to the dean and chapter of Salisbury Cathedral for allowing me to publish this text.

[5] See E. Maunde Thompson, in S. M. Lakin, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (1880), pp. 18, 19. The *laudes* are described as a litany.

monastery until the French Revolution.[1] The history of the Salisbury manuscript is unknown, but it is probable that it was at Salisbury early in the Middle Ages, and may well be one of the books which came from the library brought from Old Sarum.

From an examination of the two manuscripts it is clear that both the Boethius in Rouen and the Gregory in Salisbury were written in the same scriptorium. The scripts used in both of them are extremely similar and the decorated initials are clearly the work of the same illuminator.[2] Both texts of the *laudes* are written in similar hands to those found in the main texts. If the Rouen *laudes* came from Fécamp, it is highly likely that the Salisbury one came also from there. It is probable that more than one copy of the text was required for performing these acclamations. In the rubrics cantors are mentioned and each cantor would have needed a copy from which to sing. The fact that both texts are found in non-liturgical books is not really surprising. Kantorowicz has already drawn attention to the transmission of *laudes* texts as separate songs and indicated that they are not always to be found in liturgical manuscripts.[3] Besides Boethius and Gregory Nazianzenus, collections of canons, and books of homilies, were also the recipients of additions of these formulae.

Owing to very considerable damage from damp the Salisbury text is very much less well preserved than that in the Rouen book. This bad condition is probably the reason why it has been hitherto unrecognized and was called a litany by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in his catalogue of the Salisbury Cathedral manuscripts. The damage has been most serious in the first fourteen lines. Towards the end the lines are very nearly complete. It is fortunate that the elements of a W can be seen at the end of what remains of line seven where the acclamation of the duke of Normandy should occur. In the Rouen copy the form 'Guillelmus' is used, in Salisbury it was presumably 'Willelmus'.

A study of the text shows that Kantorowicz's edition based upon the Rouen manuscript needs a little revision. In the first place the opening phrase *Christus vincit*, etc. is repeated thrice by both the cantors and the choir. This is quite clearly indicated by the Roman III placed after both the *Christus imperat* in the cantors' portion and after *vincit* in that of the choir. In the same way a Roman I appears after the *Christus vincit* phrases which are sung before the acclamations of the king of France, the duke of Normandy, the bishops, princes and judges and the final section beginning with the formula *Rex regum et dominus dominorum*. Kantorowicz has referred to the lavish use of the *Christus vincit*[4] and both the Rouen and the Salisbury versions support this.

[1] See *Catalogue Général*, i. 107.

[2] The decorative initials in both manuscripts should be compared. There is the same rather sprawling leaf-work drawn in ink outline. In Salisbury 89, fos. 34b, 42, 49b, 57b, 72b, 80 occurs a small bird with very characteristic pointed wing feathers. An identical bird appears on fos. 58, 59 of Rouen MS. 489.

[3] See Kantorowicz, pp. 89, 90.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

In printing the text the spelling of the original has been retained. The *laudes* have been numbered for convenience of reference, abbreviations have been expanded and the missing portions supplied within square brackets from the Rouen manuscript.

F. WORMALD

Salisbury, Dean and Chapter Library, MS. 89, recto of title-page

1. *Cantores.* Christus uincit. Christus regnat. [Christus imperat. III. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. III. *Cantores.* Exaudi Christe. *Chorus.*]

2. Exaudi Christe. *Cantores.* Illo summo pon[tifici et uniuersali pape uita. *Chorus.* Exaudi Christe. *Cantores.* Sancte Petre.]

3. *Chorus.* Tu illum adiuua. *Cantores.* Sancte [Paule. *Chorus.* Tu illum. *Cantores.* Sancte Iohannes. *Chorus.* Tu illum. *Cantores.* Christus]

4. uincit. I. *Item chorus.* Christus uincit. *Cant*[*ores.* Exaudi Christe. *Chorus.* Exaudi. *Cantores.* Illo francorum regi in]

5. Christi pace uita et uictoria. *Chorus.* Ex[audi Christe. *Cantores.* Sancte Michael. *Chorus.* Tu illum. *Cantores.* Sancte Gabriel]

6. *Chorus.* Tu illum. *Cantores.* Sancte Raphael. *Chorus.* Tu i[llum. *Cantores.* Christus uincit. I. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. I. *Cantores.*]

7. Exaudi Christe. *Item chorus.* Exaudi Christe. *Cantores.* W[illelmo Normannorum duci salus et pax continua.]

8. *Chorus.* Exaudi Christe. *Cantores.* Sancte Maurici. *Chorus.* [Tu illum. *Cantores.* Sancte Sebastiane. *Chorus.* Tu illum. *Cantores.*]

9. Sancte Adriane. *Chorus.* Tu illum. *Cantores.* Christus uincit. [I. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. I. *Cantores.* Exaudi Christe.]

10. *Item chorus.* Exaudi Christe. *Cantores.* Omnibus pontificali hono[re sublimatis salutaris uitae gloria. *Chorus.*]

11. Exaudi Christe. *Cantores.* Sancte Ambrosi. *Chorus.* Tu illos adiuua. *Cantores.* [Sancte Martine. *Chorus.* Tu illos. *Cantores.*]

12. Sancte Benedicte. *Chorus.* Tu illos. *Cantores.* Christus uincit. I. *Item chorus.* [Christus uincit. I. *Cantores.* Omnibus Christiane]

13. legis principibus ac iudicibus salus aeterna. *Chorus.* Exaudi Christe. [*Cantores.* Sancte Georgi. *Chorus.* Tu illos. *Cantores.*]

14. Sancte Tiburti. *Chorus.* Tu illos. *Cantores.* Sancte Frodmunde. *Chorus.* [Tu illos. *Cantores.* Christus uincit. *Chorus.*]

15. Christus uincit. *Cantores.* Rex regum et dominus dominorum. *Chorus.* [Christus uincit. *Cantores.* Gloria et spes]

16. nostra. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. *Cantores.* Misericordia et auxilium nostrum. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. *Cantores.*]

17. Fortitudo et uictoria nostra. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. *Cantores.* Arma nostra inuictissima. [*Chorus.* Christus]

18. uincit. *Cantores.* Lux uia et uita nostra. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. *Cantores.* Ipsi soli regnum [et imperium]

19. per immortalia secula seculorum. Amen. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. *Cantores.* Ipsi soli [laus et gloria per omnia]

20. secula seculorum amen. *Chorus.* Christus uincit. *Cantores.* Christe audi nos. *Item chorus.* Christe [audi nos. *Cantores.*]

21. Kyrrieleyson. *Chorus.* Kyrrieleyson. *Cantores.* Christe eleyson. *Chorus.* Christe eleyson. [*Cantores.* Kyrrieleyson.]

22. *Item chorus.* Kyrrieleyson. *Cantores.* Feliciter. III. *Chorus.* Feliciter. III. *Cantores.* Tempora bona [maneant. III.]

23. *Chorus.* Redempti sanguine Christi. *Cantores.* Feliciter. III. *Chorus.* Feliciter. III. [*Cantores.* Regnum Christi]

24. ueniat. III. *Chorus.* Deo gratias amen.

Adam, the bastard son of Edward II

THE WARDROBE ACCOUNT of Roger de Waltham for the period 1 May 1322 to 19 October 1323 discloses the fact that Edward II had an illegitimate son named Adam, who accompanied the abortive Scottish expedition of 1322.[1] The existence of this son, seemingly overlooked by historians, must be considered in any future estimation of this king. His many peculiarities and eccentricities have been the subject of much comment both in his own day and since that time, especially his inordinate fondness for male favourites. Nowhere do we hear of any attachments to the opposite sex. Since Adam in this account is openly acknowledged as the king's bastard son, the liaison of which he was the result must have been of some importance to the king.

For his equipment and other necessities in the Scottish expedition, Adam received the sum of thirteen pounds and twenty-two pence in varying amounts between 6 June and 18 September 1322, at York, at Newcastle, at Musselburgh in Scotland and again at Newcastle. The money was given either directly to himself or to his *magister*, Hugh Chastilloun.

Adam is not mentioned as a knight and this, together with the fact that he was under a *magister*, entitles one to assume that he was, in 1322, in his early teens. Hugh Chastilloun may be the same as Hugh Castellon to whom the keeping of the manors of Kirby Malzeard, and the chace of Niderdale were committed on 20 September 1323.[2] Sir John Stormy is almost certainly to be identified with Sir John Lesturmy or Sturmy, steward of the chamber and in 1322 a member of the king's council.[3]

F. D. BLACKLEY

British Museum, Stowe MS. 553, fo. 27r[4]

Armatura et alia necessaria empta pro Ada filio Regis.

Ade filio domini Regis bastardo pro diuersis armaturis et aliis necessariis emptis per preceptum domini Regis per visum et testimonium domini Johannis Stormy militis pro apparatu eiusdem Ade versus guerram Scocie per manus Hugonis Chastilloun magistri eiusdem Ade et aliorum recipientium denarios per vices diuersas: videlicet:

(1) apud Eboracum. vj^{to} die Junij, anno. xv^{o} [6 June 1322]. 39s. 10d. per manus proprias in presencia domini Johannis Stormy.

[1] British Museum, Stowe MS. 553, fo. 27r. Roger de Waltham was the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe.

[2] *Cal. Fine Rolls 1319–27*, p. 240.

[3] T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England* (Manchester, 1920–33), iii. 336.

[4] Numbers have been added to the items for ease of reference.

(2) ibidem. iiij^to die Julij. anno eodem. 100. s. per manus proprias in presencia eiusdem.
(3) ibidem. x° die Julij. anno xvj° [10 July 1322]. 10zs. per manus dicti Hugonis.
(4) apud nouum Castrum. tercio die Augusti [3 August 1322]. 5s. per manus proprias.
(5) apud Muskleborgh in Scocia. xix° die Augusti [19 August 1322]. 5s. per manus dicti Hugonis.
(6) apud nouum Castrum super Tynam. xviij° die Septembris [18 September 1322]. 10s.

Summa. 13 li. 22d.

Some Secret Supporters of Owain Glyn Dŵr?[1]

THE DOCUMENTS printed below may bring a spotlight to bear briefly upon several pertinent problems of the first half of the reign of Henry IV: the existence of a strong undercurrent of hostility to his régime in England; the extent of English sympathy for the revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr; and the barely-conceived notion that this rebellion needed outside financial aid.

The first document is a confession made at Huntingdon in August 1405 by John Oke of Newent in Gloucestershire. He not only admitted stealing horses, sheep and lambs at several places in Essex and Berkshire in 1401–4, but also claimed that he had acted as agent for a number of prominent ecclesiastics in carrying gold and silver to Sir John Scudamore, the alleged receiver of Owain Glyn Dŵr, to sustain the rebellion. The second document records the investigation of charges laid at the same time by John Veyse of Holbeach in Lincolnshire, by commissioners appointed to deliver the gaol at Huntingdon castle, where he was held as a suspected thief. He too accused English abbots, priors and other clerks of secretly supporting the Welsh rebels with cash and plate; he claimed that he had been the intermediary between them and Master John Swineshead, who had despatched the contributions to Wales.[2]

Oke had been apprehended sometime in the early summer of 1405 after a profitable career as a common thief, the latest exploit of which had occurred, on his own admission, on 28 June 1404 at Wantage. He had been lodged in Huntingdon gaol, where he was brought before the sheriff and coroner for examination on 11 August 1405. So startlingly interesting were the charges

[1] I am indebted to the editor, Professor Francis Wormald, and to Sir Goronwy Edwards, Mr. R. R. Davies, Dr. R. W. Dunning and Mr. T. B. Pugh for several useful suggestions. Unpublished Crown-copyright material in the Public Record Office has been reproduced by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

[2] There was a John Swineshead who was a Benedictine monk of Durham Cathedral Priory and entered Oxford University in 1400–1, but the base of operations of the intermediary in 1403–4 was Swineshead in southern Lincolnshire. A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1957–9), iii. 1836; below, pp. 96–9.

that rolled from his lips that his interrogation was continued throughout the next and into the following day.[1] Meanwhile, Veyse had been arrested on 10 February 1405, probably for offences no more serious than those with which Oke was charged. He too was sent to Huntingdon and on 11 August produced a similarly unexpected confession, which has unfortunately failed to survive.[2] The local authorities showed no urgency in taking action on the basis of the charges made by the two prisoners; they must have seemed so fantastically improbable. Hence, it was not until the appointment of justices of gaol delivery for Huntingdon castle on 12 November 1405 that the central government suddenly became aware of the matter and decided to investigate more deeply. Delivery of the gaol was scheduled for 8 December; both Oke and Veyse were brought before the three justices, John Cokayn, Richard Norton and William Cothirstoke, and affirmed their charges.[3] The trials followed, but not one of those accused was convicted; indeed, on one occasion Veyse confessed his appeal of treason against John Dunwych, one of the accused, to have been false. The two thieves were thereupon sentenced to death, and were drawn from Huntingdon bridge through the town to the gallows a little way off; and there they were hanged.

Their lifeless bodies would seem to have fittingly closed the episode, but some weeks later, on 8 February 1406, the justices of gaol delivery received a letter from the king requesting further details of the accusations that had been made.[4] As a result of their profound seriousness, commissions of inquiry were set up to examine them on six occasions during the following two years, the last in July 1408.[5]

Oke had charged twenty-seven people with supplying gold and silver to Glyn Dŵr; eleven of them belonged to religious orders, whilst another two were parish priests. Both in personal significance and in the amount of cash they were alleged to have sent to Wales, the religious formed the most important group. Of the considerable sum of £6,870 which Oke claimed to have transported to Sir John Scudamore, they were said to have supplied £4,100. At the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds alone the abbot and two of the canons were alleged to have found £1,400. Other abbots involved were those of Warden, Woburn and Lavendon, whilst the priors of Huntingdon, Newenham, Thetford and Ixworth, and a canon of Barnwell were also accused of contributing. Veyse's accusations involved sixteen persons apart from the intermediary, John Swineshead; seven of them belonged to the religious orders and perhaps four were secular clergy. The sums of money mentioned were far smaller than those on Oke's list, but the personages no less eminent. Led by the abbot of Ramsey, the abbots of Louth Park, Thorney and Crowland, as well as the priors of Spalding and Huntingdon, were implicated in the treason. Between them they were alleged to have collected over £350 for the rebels, together with two 'coupes plenas auro et

[1] Below, pp. 89, 91, 93.
[2] Below, p. 96.
[3] Below, pp. 95–6.
[4] Below, pp. 99–100.
[5] *C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls] 1405–8*, pp. 227, 236, 302, 354, 481.

uno pari trussyngcofres' from Crowland. The religious, therefore, came from no single order; although in Oke's list the Augustinian canons predominated (Newenham, Thetford, Ixworth, Barnwell and Huntingdon), Warden and Woburn were Cistercian houses, Bury Benedictine and Lavendon Premonstratensian. Veyse's charges, on the other hand, had been mainly directed against Benedictine houses (Ramsey, Thorney, Crowland and Spalding); yet Louth Park was Cistercian and Huntingdon a house of Augustinian canons.[1] Moreover, he also appealed a friar from the Austin priory at Huntingdon of exhorting his brothers at Boston to muster all the gold they could lay their hands on to sustain the Welsh rebellion. The later royal commissions of oyer and terminer show that Veyse's confession contained even wider accusations, involving the heads of a further three houses of Augustinian canons (Coxford, Walsingham and Ipswich) and the prior of the Carmelite friary at Norwich.[2]

The laymen implicated were not notable men, though some were well-to-do members of local society. John Dunwych, for instance, was a tax-collector in Huntingdonshire in 1402 and 1404, and Thomas Gilden in 1401.[3] John Hervy may several times have been J.P. in Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire, and served on commissions of oyer and terminer there.[4] Robert Brigham may even have been able to send his son to Oxford and embark him on a not unsuccessful career as a clerk.[5] The only knight among the suspected was Sir John de Aylesbury, but there were at least three former members of parliament: John Dunhed, junior, may have been the member for the borough of Huntingdon in 1394, 1395, 1397 and 1397–8; Robert Brigham represented the borough of Cambridge in 1377, 1386, 1394 and 1395; a Sir John Aylesbury sat for Buckinghamshire in 1376, 1377 and 1381, whilst a John Aylesbury was returned in 1379, 1380 and 1390. Moreover, a John Hervy sat for Bedfordshire in 1386 and John Bussh was to represent Cambridge in 1411 and 1426.[6]

But can the accusations be accepted as unimpeachable evidence of the existence of an underground movement in England, secretly conveying money to the Welsh rebels, principally from ecclesiastical sources? If the charges of treason were false, a bold and elaborate plot must have lain behind the outbursts of Oke and Veyse, for the details of Oke's confession are vivid

[1] It is curious that three other alleged traitors, John Dunwych, John Copegray and Thomas Gilden, all of Godmanchester, Hunts., were associated with the prior of Huntingdon in July 1410, when they pledged themselves to ensure that certain persons would not attack the prior and convent. *C[alendar of] Cl[ose] R[olls] 1409–13*, p. 117.

[2] *C.P.R. 1405–8*, pp. 236, 481. The Carmelite friary seems to have been the only one of the Norwich houses to have a prior named John in 1406. *V[ictoria] C[ounty] H[istory of] Norfolk*, ii. 432.

[3] *C[alendar of] F[ine] R[olls] 1399–1405*, pp. 188, 284, 290, 116.

[4] Below, p. 89 n. 8.

[5] Emden, i. 292; below, p. 91 n. 3.

[6] Cf. *C. Cl.R. 1402–5*, p. 508; *Return of M.P.s* (1878), i. 193, 197, 201, 206, 207, 228, 237, 247, 249, 250, 253, 255, 276, 310, app., p. xv.

and minute, inviting belief. Admittedly, some inaccuracies are present: for example, William of Cratfield was abbot of Bury St. Edmunds in 1400 and not John Toucestre; Hugh Wells was prior of Walsingham from 1402 to 1437 and not a certain William; Thomas of Charwelton was abbot of Thorney from 1402 to 1426 rather than William Sawetre; John de Walsingham, and not a certain William, was prior of Coxford in 1406; and there was no abbot of Lavendon by the name of John in Henry IV's reign.[1] On the other hand, the number of heads of religious houses correctly named is greater: Thomas Overton, abbot of Crowland; William Manypeny, abbot of Woburn; John of Moulton, prior of Spalding; William of Woughton, prior of Newenham; Thomas Wale, abbot of Louth Park; John de Welles, prior of Ixworth; William, prior of Ipswich; and John Hemingford, prior of Huntingdon.[2]

The designation of Sir John Scudamore as Glyn Dŵr's receiver might also seem to be erroneous and to reduce the reliability of the first document. During the rebellion Scudamore was one of the king's trusted officers in South Wales. Probably the son of another John Scudamore, he had been deputy-steward of Henry of Lancaster's lordship of Brecon in 1393–4 and early in Henry's reign became a king's esquire.[3] He received custody of Kidwelly castle in May 1401 and of Carreg Cennen a year later, whilst in 1403 he became joint-constable of Grosmont; on 22 April 1405 he secured the keeping of Carmarthen castle.[4] He was placed on a commission to investigate rebel activities in the lordship of Abergavenny, Herefordshire and the Welsh March generally in May 1401; whilst two and a half years later he joined another commission with full authority to reconcile rebels in all the lordships of the middle and southern March.[5] In the autumn expedition of 1404 Scudamore was retained to proceed against the rebels in South Wales.[6]

Yet, to accuse him of treason was not as incredible as it would appear at first sight. It was probably a relative, Philip Scudamore, who at some stage adhered to Owain Glyn Dŵr and was eventually captured on the Shropshire

[1] *V.C.H. Suffolk*, ii. 72; *V.C.H. Norfolk*, ii. 380, 401; *V.C.H. Cambs.*, ii. 217; *V.C.H. Bucks.*, i. 386. However, a William Sawetre was tax-collector in Essex in 1401 and 1404. *C.F.R. 1399–1405*, pp. 116, 284, 292. Indeed, the men named by Oke may have been inmates of their respective houses and later mistaken for their superiors.

[2] *V.C.H. Lincs.*, ii. 117, 124, 141; *V.C.H. Beds.*, i. 370, 381; *V.C.H. Suffolk*, ii. 107; *V.C.H. Hunts.*, i. 395; *C.Cl.R. 1409–13*, p. 346. It is also possible that the Walsingham house referred to was the Franciscan friary whose priors are unknown. *V.C.H. Norfolk*, ii. 435.

[3] *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 246; *C.Cl.R., 1422–9*, p. 428; R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, vol. i (1953), pp. 387, 639. The date of his grant of knighthood is unknown, but it was certainly before 13 Nov. 1408. *C.P.R. 1408–13*, p. 32.

[4] But Scudamore had been in charge of Carreg Cennen at least since 20 Oct. 1401. Somerville, pp. 639, 641 n. 1, 170 n. 1, 171 n. 1; *C.P.R. 1422–9*, p. 63; below, p. 81.

[5] *C.P.R. 1399–1401*, p. 518; *C.P.R. 1401–5*, p. 439.

[6] Public Record Office, Exchequer, K.R., Various Accounts 44/7 m. 3.

border and executed at Shrewsbury in 1410.[1] Philip had become custodian of Carreg Cennen castle by the middle of September 1401, was joined by John Scudamore on 20 October and on 9 November was replaced by him.[2] John too may have been in Glyn Dŵr's company, possibly before the revolt broke out, for he apparently married Glyn Dŵr's daughter, Alice.[3] Furthermore, although in October 1403 he was showing concern lest Kidwelly castle, of which he was constable, should fall, earlier in the year his own letter to the receiver of Brecon indicates that he had access to Glyn Dŵr, knew of his plans and was accompanied at Carreg Cennen by his wife and her mother—Owain's own daughter and wife.[4] If later complaints against Scudamore as steward of Kidwelly did not accuse him of treason, at least they showed that he was noted for his extortion and widespread sale of office, all for his own profit and in contempt of the king's rights.[5] But the king's trust in him did not sour and he continued to accumulate offices and privileges during the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI.[6] It was only when he attempted to lay his hands on his father-in-law's former estates in North Wales that the consequences of his injudicious marriage came home to roost. Owain's lands had been granted by Henry IV to his half-brother John, the first Beaufort earl of Somerset, and his heirs on 8 November 1400, but with the third earl in prison in France, Scudamore saw his opportunity. It was Edmund Beaufort, count of Mortain and the earl's younger brother, who countered Scudamore's action in the 1433 parliament, engineered his dismissal from office and succeeded him at Carmarthen, Kidwelly, Monmouth and the Three Castles.[7]

[1] J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 141 n. 4, 153–4. Philip may have been of Holme Lacy, Herefs. *Registrum Edmundi Lacy, Episcopi Herefordensis*, ed. J. H. Parry (Canterbury and York Soc., 1918), p. 26; *C.Cl.R. 1405–9*, p. 503.

[2] Somerville, p. 171 n. 1; P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellanea, 9/8 mm. 35, 37, 38. He may also have been master-serjeant of Monmouth in Oct. 1392. Monmouthshire Record Office, Monmouth Collection 5145. I owe this reference to Mr. R. R. Davies.

[3] He is to be distinguished from John Scudamore, a former escheator of Herefordshire and the adjacent March, who died on 2 June 1399 and whose heir was his brother Thomas. P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Sheriffs' Accounts 18/22, 25; *C.F.R. 1391–9*, pp. 82, 284.

[4] *Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV*, ed. F. C. Hingeston (Rolls Ser., 1860), i. 160–2; *Original Letters illustrative of English History*, 2nd ser., ed. H. Ellis (1827), i. 19–20. It must be admitted that the date of Scudamore's marriage to Alice is unknown, although 1395 has been suggested. J. H. Matthews, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford* (Hereford, 1912–13), ii. 12.

[5] P.R.O., Assize Roll 1153 m. 2.

[6] Somerville, pp. 639–40, 647, 649; *C.P.R. 1422–9*, p. 63; *C.P.R. 1429–36*, p. 116; *C.F.R. 1422–30*, p. 302; *History of Parliament, Biographies*, ed. J. C. Wedgwood (1936), p. 753. In the latter the careers of himself and his son have been confused; Sir John died sometime before Dec. 1435. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books 18, fo. 72v.

[7] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iv. 440–1; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, XII. i. 46, 49; Somerville, pp. 170 n. 3, 640, 647, 649, 654; *C.P.R. 1399–1401*, p. 386; *C.P.R. 1420–36*, p. 286.

John Oke in 1405 maintained that he had taken money to Scudamore on twenty-six different occasions in various parts of Wales, and the situation of these rendezvous is of some interest.

Date of Collection		*Place of Collection*[1]	*Place of Delivery*
1400	25 December	Bury St. Edmunds, Suff.	Carmarthen
1401	about 22 February	(?) Thundersley, Essex	(Oke thieving)
	25 March	Thaxted, Essex	Wormelow, Herefs.
	26 March	North Benfleet, Essex	(Oke thieving)
	1 April	Bury St. Edmunds, Suff.	Pencoed Castle, Mon.
	1 May	Bury St. Edmunds, Suff.	Beaumaris, Anglesey
	21 May	Woburn, Beds.	Newport, Mon.
	24 July	Huntingdon	(Oke robbed)
	1 August	Ixworth, Suff.	Powis, Montgom.
1402	7 February	[Thaxted, Essex]	Wormelow, Herefs.
	5 March	Maldon, Essex	(Oke thieving)
	25 March	Barnwell, Cambs.	Caerphilly, Glam.
	23 April	Duxford, Cambs.	Pembroke
	29 June	Thetford, Norf.	Pencoed Castle, Mon.
	22 July	Fen Ditton, Cambs.	Caldicot, Mon.
	21 September	Lavendon, Bucks.	Pembroke
1403	5 March	Braintree, Essex	(Oke thieving)
	25 December	[Huntingdon]	Beaumaris, Anglesey
1404	25 March	Olney, Bucks.	Carmarthen
	18 May	Cambridge	Newport, Mon.
	18 May	Huntingdon	Cardiff, Glam.
	19 May	Newenham, Beds.	Madley, Herefs.
	24 June	London (St. Paul's)	Brecon
	28 June	Wantage, Berks.	(Oke thieving)
	22 July	[Ickleton, Cambs.]	Huntington, Herefs.
	28 October	Warden, Beds.	St. David's, Pembs.
	30 November	Melbourn, Cambs.	Abergavenny, Mon.
1405	1 February	Huntingdon	Llanvetherine, Mon. (?)
	3 March	Glatton, Hunts.	Wormelow, Herefs.
	25 March	Fen Stanton, Hunts.	Carmarthen
	20 April	Meldreth, Cambs.	Radnor
	1 May	Godmanchester, Hunts.	Radnor

According to Oke's testimony, both he and Scudamore would seem to have been tireless travellers, even if each of them followed an ill-planned route. The places at which cash was apparently collected by Oke on the dates he specified do not form an impossible itinerary, although on 18–19 May 1404 he would have been hard pressed to have visited Cambridge, Huntingdon and Newenham (Beds.). The dates on which Scudamore was alleged to have received the contributions from Oke, are unknown; they are simply said to have been immediately after collection. Again the itinerary, if lengthy and uneconomical, is acceptable, and shortly after 18–19 May

[1]The places inside square brackets have been inferred from the text.

Scudamore may well have been at Newport, Cardiff and Madley (Herefs.). But surely money received at Cambridge, Huntingdon and Newenham on those two days would have been handed over to Scudamore at one meeting-place instead of at three, even if these were within easy reach of each other? Moreover, when both series of place-names are combined in order to plot Oke's travels in these years, if indeed they ever took place, one can only marvel at his stamina and speed on horseback.[1]

Nevertheless, the rendezvous in Wales are significantly concentrated in the southern March, with a subsidiary area in south-west Wales. Thus, Wormelow, where Oke claimed that he had met Scudamore on three occasions, and Madley were within seven or eight miles of each other in south-west Herefordshire; Abergavenny and Llanvetherine lay within twenty miles of Wormelow; and further south were Caerphilly, Cardiff, Caldicot, Pencoed and Newport, to the two latter of which Oke ostensibly brought cash on two occasions.[2] Less than twenty miles north-west of Madley was Radnor, where, Oke alleged, two further rendezvous were arranged, as well as at Huntington, situated rather nearer the principal area in the Wye valley. Finally, at Brecon, at the junction of the westward routes from Abergavenny and the Wye valley, Scudamore is said to have received another consignment of cash from Oke. Thus, within a quadrilateral bounded by Radnor, Brecon, Cardiff and Wormelow, seventeen of the twenty-six recorded meetings were supposed to have taken place, eleven of them concentrated in south-west Herefordshire and the adjacent area of central and southern Gwent. If true, it can scarcely be wondered at that Oke should have found Scudamore more often than not in this vicinity when he travelled to Wales on his clandestine missions, for here lay his inherited estates. In south-west Herefordshire he had lands at Kentchurch, near Grosmont, and perhaps at Monnington Straddel, a few miles from Madley, whilst other branches of the Scudamore clan lived elsewhere in Herefordshire and at Troy Parva, near Monmouth, and Rogiet, near Caldicot, in modern Monmouthshire.[3] Moreover, his family had held property in the town of Abergavenny in Edward I's reign, and Sir John's daughter, Anne, married into an Abergavenny family.[4] His interests in the area became even greater after he became constable of Grosmont in 1403.

His presence in west Wales can be explained after 1401 by his official

[1] For speed of travel in the fifteenth century, see C. A. J. Armstrong, 'Some Examples of the Distribution and Speed of News in England at the Time of the Wars of the Roses' in *Studies in Mediaeval History Presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 429–54.

[2] Coming from Newent in Gloucestershire, it is barely possible that Oke was familiar with the geography of this area, although in the opening years of the century he seems to have been in the service of William Fyns at Huntingdon. Below, p. 93.

[3] Lloyd, p. 145; *History of Parliament, Biographies*, p. 753; J. A. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire* (1907–32), II. ii. 161; IV. ii. 210; P.R.O., Chancery, Inquisitions Post Mortem, 139/19/26; 139/59/20.

[4] P.R.O., Exchequer, K.R., Misc. 2/38; Bradney, I. ii. 177.

position in the lordship of Kidwelly, from which he may well have travelled occasionally to Carmarthen, Pembroke and St. David's cathedral, other rendezvous named by Oke. Brecon lay astride the direct route between his posts in the west and his landed inheritance in the east. Outside of these two areas only three meetings were mentioned in the confession: one at Powis Castle and two at Beaumaris, one of the latter taking place in December 1403 when the castle was under siege by the Welsh.[1] But as early as 1400 the neighbouring Franciscan priory of Llanfaes was showing sympathy with the national cause, making the delivery of cash there in May 1401 and December 1403 a matter for little surprise.[2] In any case, Scudamore's position as a trusted royal servant would have been sufficient to allow him access to any of the castles remaining in English hands.

Thus, although the charges of Oke and Veyse may appear sound and irrefutable to the unsuspecting observer, the ubiquitous Oke and the convenient Scudamore do strain the imagination a trifle. Certain other facts connected with the case are even more disquieting. Oke and Veyse were self-confessed felons, who, on their capture, had become approvers willing to 'confess' and appeal others of being involved in their crimes. An accusation by an approver, intent on diverting attention from himself by recklessly implicating other, more substantial, victims, was therefore a less formidable proposition than if a disinterested person had made it. Indeed, so unreliable had panic-stricken approvers become, and contemporary exasperation with them had reached such a pitch, that the 1404 parliament took steps to prevent them obtaining pardons by falsely accusing others.[3] It was in accordance with this statute that several of Oke's victims received pardons 'per statutum' in December 1405.[4]

Moreover, it is significant that the sole evidence for the treasonable activities of the English ecclesiastics and laymen comes from statements made on the same day by two criminals imprisoned at the same time in Huntingdon castle. The men they accused were, with hardly an exception, from the surrounding counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Bedford, Buckingham, Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk. Further, apart from the prior of Thetford and Robert Brigham of Cambridge, none of the accused appears in both lists. John Oke and John Veyse can almost be imagined languishing in the castle gaol, feverishly concocting between them a plot to secure their own reprieve by declaring a number of local men of their acquaintance and almost every head of a religious house within sixty or seventy miles, to be traitors. Veyse himself came from Holbeach in southern Lincolnshire and could have provided the necessary information.

Again, the two monastic chroniclers who mention what must have been

[1] Lloyd, pp. 76, 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 34; *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, xv. 59.

[3] *Statutes of the Realm* (Record Commission, 1816), ii. 144. For a similar approver's statement dismissed in 1440, M. Aston, 'A Kent approver of 1440', *ante*, xxxvi (1963), 82–90.

[4] Below, p. 90 n. 5; p. 92 n. 4, 7, 8, p. 93 n. 1.

the sensational trial of prominent members of their calling, give no hint other than that the charges were utterly false. At St. Albans, less than fifty miles away, Thomas Walsingham, in the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, recorded in detail the events leading up to the execution of John Veyse.[1] So vivid is his account, based firmly on the exact words of the justice and the approver, that he may have travelled to Huntingdon for a trial so closely concerning his own order. He relates that a thief, a locksmith by trade, was brought before the justice, John Cokayn (Walsingham mistakenly calls him William), and attempted to evade punishment by accusing fifty-nine abbots, priors and other ecclesiastics, the abbot of Ramsey principal among them, of sending money to Glyn Dŵr by using Veyse as messenger. From the beginning very sceptical of the truth of the approver's charges, Cokayn cunningly conceived a simple ruse to test him. Veyse was confronted by two monks one of whom was the abbot of Ramsey. Instead of allowing the latter to be preceded by the lesser brother in the normal way, Cokayn reversed the order and invited Veyse to pick out the abbot with whom he claimed to have had dealings. When he pointed to the other monk, the case was dismissed and all the suspected persons released. The more prosaic record of the trials shows that, whereas Cokayn may have employed this device to discover the truth, the abbot had to submit to a jury at the king's suit, even after Veyse's execution. He was, however, quickly acquitted.

The chronicler of Crowland abbey, whose abbot was also appealed by Veyse, has little to add to Walsingham's story, and although the abbey was much nearer Huntingdon than St. Albans, his account does not bear the stamp of the eye-witness.[2] Abbot Thomas Overton came before a jury, 'trusting especially in the Lord, and the testimony of his own conscience', and was vindicated. Indeed, not one of those accused by either Veyse or Oke was convicted, although in the case of Robert Brigham the final verdict is unknown.[3]

If the two statements were, in fact, nothing more than a tissue of lies—even if they were true, the existence of a fifth-column of this nature would hardly abound in documentary testimony—it must finally be considered whether there was a context into which they could be fitted in order to secure at least some chance of being believed. During the first few years of Henry IV's reign, many of the conspiracies against his régime drew succour from almost every type of clerk, especially in the eastern counties. In 1399 the abbots of St. Albans and Westminster were secretly friendly to the partisans of the deposed Richard.[4] The abortive rebellion of the 'duketti' in the winter of 1399–1400 included several priests, among them Richard Maudleyn, a former companion of Richard II and associated with the

[1] *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti*, in *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Ser., 1866), pp. 415–16 (hereafter *Annales Henrici Quarti*).

[2] *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland*, ed. H. T. Riley (1854), pp. 355–6.

[3] Below, p. 99.

[4] J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV* (1884–98), i. 74–5, 92.

county of Essex.[1] When the earl of Huntingdon fled after the rebellion's failure, he made for East Anglia and the shelter of an acquaintance, John Pritewell, near Shoebury in Essex.[2] The friars in particular seem to have been ardent and persistent trouble-makers. In May 1402 a priest captured at Ware in Hertfordshire incriminated many others of treason, including the prior of the house of Augustinian canons at Launde in Leicestershire; both were executed together with several Franciscan friars. Another from Cambridge was accused of treason, whilst at the Franciscan priory at Aylesbury one of the lay brothers similarly accused a friar.[3] Indeed, there may even have been a widespread plot against the government, spearheaded by the religious, but expecting aid from more influential quarters. A Franciscan from Leicester blurted out that 500 laymen and clerks planned to assemble near Oxford on 23 June 1402 in King Richard's name; a contingent of nine was expected from his own house.[4] Many were imprisoned, including the prior of the Dominicans at Cambridge and, it was hinted, ladies of high birth, even a countess.[5] It is clear that, guilty or not, they were suspected of supporting the Welsh rebellion, and were charged, in the words of the author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, 'magnam summam pecuniae mendicando, et misistis ad Audoenum Glendour proditorem'.[6] The English chronicler reported in the same vein: 'Also ye with your fals flateryng and ypocrisie, have gadrid a gret summe of money with begging, and sent it to Oweyne of Glendore, a traitour, that he sholde come and destroy Englond.'[7] John Oke had, according to his testimony, already taken £2,900 to Wales by the end of April 1402.

After the failure of this plot, it was another two years before the next serious conspiracy was born. The death of Richard II had dealt the greatest blow at the hopes of the discontented, but even in 1404 the myth that he still lived was energetically canvassed. On this occasion, the countess of Oxford, who may have been involved in 1402, was one of the nominal ringleaders; she was active in Essex, where a French landing was awaited from September 1403 onwards. Several ecclesiastics were concerned, including the abbots of Colchester and St. Osyth's, the latter a house of Augustinian

[1] Wylie, i. 92, 95–6.

[2] *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p. 327; *Historia Anglicana Thomae Walsingham*, in *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Ser., 1863–4), ii. 245; *Eulogium Historiarum*, ed. F. S. Haydon (Rolls Ser., 1858–63), iii. 386.

[3] *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 389–90; *Annales Henrici Quarti*, pp. 339–41; *Historia Anglicana*, ii. 248–9.

[4] *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 391; *An English Chronicle*, ed. J. S. Davies (Camden Soc., 1856), pp. 24–5.

[5] Wylie, i. 275–8; *Chronicon Adae de Usk*, ed. E. M. Thompson (2nd edn., 1904), pp. 84, 255.

[6] *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 392–3; *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p. 343; *Historia Anglicana*, p. 251.

[7] *An English Chronicle*, pp. 25–6. For the independent derivation of this chronicle and the *Eulogium Historiarum* from a common source, C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 28–30.

canons, whilst Henry ap David, the Welsh parson of Chillesford, Suffolk, was later accused of being an adherent of the Scots and the Welsh rebels.[1] Who could have resisted the conclusion that the statements of Oke and Veyse revealed an important element in the plot, with religious houses more deeply implicated than had been suspected and the financing of the Glyn Dŵr revolt giving substance to the leaders' assertion that the Welsh had a central role to play in the projected deposition of the king?[2]

The reason why so many prominent ecclesiastics were prepared to become involved in treasonable activities early in Henry's reign, is only partly explained by resentment at the removal of Richard II.[3] More compelling, perhaps, was the growing anticlericalism among laymen in high places.[4] In the parliament of 1399 the Commons seem to have agitated for the confiscation of clerical property, and their demands became more insistent with the government's growing financial difficulties.[5] The first alleged despatch of money to Glyn Dŵr occurred in December 1400, and although payments were reportedly heavy in 1401 and 1402, the following year brought a lull with the stream of cash almost drying up. Then, at Worcester in September 1403, members of the king's entourage attacked the wealth of the Church's prelates in the very presence of Archbishop Arundel.[6] Although the king was able to effect a reconciliation, it is perhaps not without significance that, according to Oke and Veyse, the payments to Glyn Dŵr were resumed in November and December 1403 and in 1404 the largest yearly number of contributions, perhaps as many as eighteen, was conveyed by Oke and Swineshead to the rebels. The attack on the Church continued in the parliament of October 1404 held at Coventry, where also the archbishop was shocked to see some of the king's knights and squires turn their backs on the Host, and could not complain quickly enough to the king of the irreverence and irreligion of members of his household.[7] In his confession, John Oke maintained that at this juncture secret payments to him for Wales did not falter; between 28 October 1404 and 1 May 1405 £1,330 were said to have reached Sir John Scudamore.

[1] Wylie, i. 417–28; *C.P.R. 1408–13*, p. 17. Henry ap David could even have acted as another intermediary between Glyn Dŵr and the eastern clergy.

[2] Wylie, i. 419, 423, 425; *Historia Anglicana*, ii. 263, 417–18; *Eulogium Historiarum*, iii. 402; *Ypodigma Neustriae a Thoma Walsingham* in *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Ser., 1876), pp. 406–8. A canon of Walsingham priory, whose prior was accused by Veyse, was pardoned on 18 March 1404 for treasons, felonies and trespasses, possibly arising out of this plot. *C.P.R. 1401–5*, p. 386.

[3] For clerical support, this time mainly from the west country, of Sir John Oldcastle's revolt in 1413–14, E. F. Jacob, *Henry V and the Invasion of France* (1947), pp. 53–5.

[4] W. T. Waugh, 'The Lollard knights', *Scottish Hist. Review*, xi (1914), 55–92. While Mr. K. B. McFarlane, in a lecture to the Canterbury and York Society in December 1962, laid greater emphasis on the Lollard sympathies of the courtiers considered, both he and Mr. Waugh are agreed on their strong anticlericalism.

[5] E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 79–80.

[6] J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York* (Oxford, 1892), i. 66.

[7] *Ibid.*, i. 79–80; *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p. 395.

Finally, less than five years after the execution of Oke and Veyse, it was rumoured that a detailed plan was being presented in parliament for the disendowment of the Church, including the abbeys and priories.[1] Within such an atmosphere of intrigue, the statements of John Oke and John Veyse fitted like a glove.

On balance, however, it must be admitted that their far-reaching accusations seem improbable: Oke travelling far too often across the breadth of England, and Scudamore, the trusted official with convenient ties with the enemy, playing the undetected rebel. Moreover, although most of those named by Oke and Veyse could have been traitors, the incrimination of John Hervy, a friend of Glyn Dŵr's enemy, Lord Grey of Ruthin, is difficult to accept.[2] What, then, could have been the purpose of the approvers, for a far simpler plot with less important implications might have been expected from their humble minds—and have been believed? One explanation, perhaps the most credible but also the least susceptible of proof, deserves mention. The Crowland chronicler suggests that the charges may have been prompted 'by accursed bribes', presumably in an attempt to discredit the ecclesiastical hierarchy and give added justification to the anticlerical attacks. With some of the more prominent abbots and priors implicated in the Welsh rebellion, public opinion might well have approved a punishment as severe as disendowment. In this connexion, it may be noted that Payn Tiptoft, the sheriff who had received the two confessions at Huntingdon, was the father of Sir John Tiptoft, long a servant of Henry IV, M.P. for Huntingdon in 1403–4, Speaker in 1406 and possibly a member of the anticlerical courtier element.[3] It is also not without significance that the head of at least one other house of Augustinian canons was maliciously accused of being an adherent of Owain Glyn Dŵr. He was John Wellington, prior of Llanthony Prima in the March of Wales, whose Irish lands were seized 'on the suggestion of certain enemies of his'.[4] Why Sir John Scudamore should also be involved is less easy to explain; perhaps it was hoped that his marriage to Glyn Dŵr's daughter would add substance to the accusations.

A comparison springs to mind with the serious charges levelled against the abbot of Shrewsbury, the prior of Wenlock and other prominent clerks, who were accused of complicity in Sir John Oldcastle's revolt of 1413–14. These accusations were published in similar circumstances, issuing from approvers hardly more reputable than those of 1405. If doubts be expressed about the veracity of the earlier confessions, they can scarcely be less strong about those of 1414, for the anticlerical lobby had not lost its voice in the meanwhile.[5] If this anticlericalism owed anything to the infection of

[1] Wylie, iii. 309–13; M. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1948–59), ii. 107–8.
[2] Below, p. 89 n. 8.
[3] *Ingulph's Chronicle*, p. 355; Somerville, p. 601; G.E.C., XII. i. 746.
[4] *C.P.R. 1401–5*, p. 455.
[5] Jacob, *Henry V*, pp. 54–5; but by 1961 Professor Jacob himself was finding the matter curious, *Fifteenth Century*, p. 133.

Lollardy, the religious of East Anglia and the adjacent counties might be particularly nervous, for they lay uncomfortably near the heart of Lollard England.[1]

RALPH GRIFFITHS

Public Record Office, Ancient Indictments, King's Bench, 9/194/1

Hec indentura facta apud Hunt' die martis proximo post festum Sancti Laurencii Martiris anno regni Regis Henrici quarti sexto [11 August 1405] inter Paganum de Tiptot chivaler, vicecomitem comitatus predicte, et Johannem Benyll, unum coronatorum domini regis eiusdem comitatus, testatur quod Johannes Oke de Newent devenit probator et ipse iuratus dicit quod ipse simul cum Thoma atte Well de Gumecestre[2] apud Wantyng in comitatu Bark'[3] in vigilia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum quinto [28 June 1404] quinque equos de Johanne Yunge precii centum solidorum felonice furatus fuit, unde felonice predictum Thomam appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke de Newent, probator et proditor domini regis, recepit de Johanne Dunhed iuniore,[4] proditore domini regis, apud London' in ecclesia Sancti Pauli in festo Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum quinto [24 June 1404] centum libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum Owyno de Glendordy, quas statim post dictum festum portavit dicto Owyno in Walliam per preceptum dicti Johannis Dunhed et eas deliberavit Johanni Skydmore militi, receptori dicti Owyni, apud Brekenok[5] ad sustentacionem guerrarum suarum, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke de Newent, probator et proditor domini regis, recepit de Waltero, rectore ecclesie Omnium Sanctorum Huntyngdon',[6] proditore domini regis, apud Huntyngdon' in vigilia Purificacionis Beate Marie anno regni Regis Henrici sexto [1 February 1405] triginta libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum predicto Owyno de Glendordy, quas statim post dictum festum portavit dicto Owyno in Walliam per preceptum dicti rectoris et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydemoor, receptori dicti Owyni, apud Lannvat'nowere[7] ad sustentacionem guerrarum suarum, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke, probator et proditor, recepit de Johanne Hervy de Melburn[8] in comitatu Cant', proditore domini regis, apud Melburn

[1] K. B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (1952), beginning and end maps.

[2] Godmanchester, Hunts.

[3] Wantage, Berks.

[4] Above his name appears the abbreviation 'po se' for 'ponit se super patriam', indicating that he submitted himself to a jury. He was in fact released when Oke retracted. *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 236.

[5] Brecon.

[6] See first part of note 4 above. Walter Breedon was rector in Dec. 1406, *The Register of Bishop Philip Repingdon, 1405–19*, ed. M. Archer (Lincoln Record Soc., 1963), i. 94.

[7] The identification of this place is difficult, but it may be Llanvetherine, about five miles east-north-east of Abergavenny, Mon.

[8] Melbourn, Cambs. A cross appears above his name, perhaps indicating that the charge was dismissed. He may be identified with the John Hervy who represented Bedfordshire in parliament in 1386, and sat on several commissions in

predictum in festo Sancti Andrei Apostoli anno regni Regis Henrici sexto [30 November 1404] trescentas libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum dicto Owyno, quas statim post dictum festum portavit dicto Owyno in Walliam per preceptum dicti Johannis Hervy et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmor, receptori dicti Owyni, apud Bergeveneye[1] ad sustentacionem guerrarum suarum, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke, probator et proditor, recepit de Johanne Odle de Melreth,[2] proditore dòmini regis, apud Melreth die lune in septimana Pasche anno regni Regis Henrici sexto [20 April 1405] ducentas libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum dicto Owyno, quas statim post dictum diem lune portavit dicto Owyno in Walliam per preceptum dicti Johannis Odle et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori dicti Owyni, apud Redenore[3] ad sustentacionem guerrarum suarum, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke, probator et proditor, recepit de Johanne Copegray,[4] proditore domini regis, apud Gumecestre in festo Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno dicti Regis Henrici sexto [1 May 1405] centum libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum dicto Owyno in Walliam per preceptum dicti Johannis Copegray, et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor apud Redenore ad sustentacionem guerrarum suarum, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke recepit de Johanne Sabrisford de Huntyngdon',[5] proditore domini regis, in festo Natalis Domini anno eiusdem regis quinto [25 December 1403] centum et quadraginta libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum dicto Owyno, quas statim ei portavit post dictum festum in Walliam per preceptum predicti Johannis Sabrisford et eas liberavit eidem Johanni Skydmoor, receptori dicti Owyni, in castello de Beaumareys[6] ad sustentacionem guerrarum suarum, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke recepit de Johanne Graunt,[7] rectore ecclesie de Olney,[8] proditore domini regis, apud Olney in festo Annunciacionis Beate Marie anno predicti Regis Henrici quinto [25 March 1404] trescentas libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum dicto Owyno, quas statim post dictum festum ei portavit in Walliam per preceptum dicti rectoris et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, etc., in castello de Kermerdyn[9] ad sustentacionem guerrarum suarum, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod predictus Johannes recepit de Johanne Ode de Fenstanton,[10]

Hunts., Beds. and Bucks. in 1405–8. As he was a kinsman and friend of Lord Grey of Ruthin, Owain Glyn Dŵr's enemy, and his attorney in April 1405, Oke's charge appears suspicious. *C.P.R. 1405–8*, pp. 64, 151, 417, 483, 489, 492, 9; *Return of M.P.s*, i. 228; M. Bassett, *Knights of the Shire for Bedfordshire during the Middle Ages* (Bedfordshire Hist. Record Soc., xxix, 1949), pp. 49–50.

[1] Abergavenny, Mon.

[2] Meldreth, Cambs. A cross appears above his name, perhaps indicating that the charge was dismissed.

[3] Radnor.

[4] Above his name appears the abbreviation 'po se' for 'ponit se super patriam'.

[5] Above his name appears 'pro perdonacione per statutum'; this presumably relates to the statute concerning approvers, for which see above p. 84.

[6] Beaumaris, Anglesey.

[7] See nn. 2 and 4 above. A commission was appointed to investigate his alleged treason on 12 Feb. 1407. *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 302.

[8] Olney, Bucks.

[9] Carmarthen.

[10] Fen Stanton, Hunts. See nn. 2 and 4 above.

proditore domini regis, apud Fenstanton in festo Annunciacionis Beate Marie anno eiusdem Regis Henrici sexto [25 March 1405] centum libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum dicto Owyno, quas statim portavit post dictum festum in Walliam per preceptum dicti Johannis Ode et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori dicti Owyni, ad predictum castellum de Kermerdyn ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke recepit de Johanne Hemyngford,[1] priore de Huntyngdon', proditore domini regis, apud Huntyngdon' in festo Pentecostes anno regni eiusdem Regis Henrici quinto [18 May 1404] trescentas libras quas sibi tradidit ad portandum predicto Owyno de Glendordy, quas statim post dictum festum portavit in Walliam per preceptum dicti prioris et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, etc., apud Kerdyf[2] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke recepit de Roberto Brygham de Cantebrigg',[3] proditore domini regis, apud Cantebrig' in dicto festo Pentecostes eodem anno quinto Regis Henrici [18 May 1404] trescentas marcas auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum dicto Owyno, quas statim post dictum festum portavit in Walliam per preceptum dicti Roberti et eas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori dicti Owyni, apud Newport[4] in Wallia ad sustentacionem predictam, unde eum appellat.

Die mercurii proximo post predictum festum Sancti Laurencii Martiris anno eiusdem Regis Henrici sexto [12 August 1405] predictus Johannes Oke de Newent, probator et proditor domini regis, dicit coram predicto Johanne Benyll coronatore quod ipse Johannes Oke, probator et proditor, recepit de Thoma Gundyr et Johanne Hankyn de Glatton[5] apud Glatton die martis proximo ante Carniprevium anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum sexto [3 March 1405] trescentas marcas auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum Owyno de Glendordy in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum predictorum Thome et Johannis Hankyn et illas deliberavit Johanni Skydmoor militi, receptori dicti Owyni, apud Wormelowe[6] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eos appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke, probator et proditor, recepit de Johanne Kent de Thakstede[7] die martis proximo ante Carniprevium anno eiusdem Regis Henrici tercio [7 February 1402] trescentas marcas auri et argenti ad portandum

[1] See p. 90 n. 4. He was elected prior in 1404, *V.C.H. Hunts.*, i. 395.

[2] Cardiff, Glam.

[3] Cambridge. Above his name appears 'dis' appell' set alius qui mortuus est Roberti Brygham de Can'' If this refers to the death of Robert Brygham, it is possibly his son who had a successful career at Oxford and who received a pardon for certain offences in Dec. 1411. Emden, i. 292; *C.P.R. 1408–13*, p. 357; *C.Cl.R. 1409–13*, p. 180. It was probably the elder Robert who was appointed to a commission of array in Cambridge in Nov. 1403, and who had sat for Cambridge in the parliaments of 1377, 1394 and 1395. *C.P.R. 1401–5*, p. 359; *Return of M.P.s*, i. 247, 249; app., p. xv. See below, pp. 98–9.

[4] Newport, Mon.

[5] Glatton, Hunts. See above, p. 90 n. 2.

[6] Wormelow, Herefs.

[7] Thaxted, Essex. See above, p. 90 n. 2. Possibly the clerk who was a plaintiff in an action in the court of the chancellor of Oxford University in May 1397; possibly also a servant of John of Gaunt and Henry IV. Emden, ii. 1037; *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 390; *C.P.R. 1408–13*, p. 96. A commission was appointed to investigate his alleged treason on 6 May 1407. *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 354.

predicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti Johannis Kent et illas liberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, etc., apud Wormelowe ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke, probator et proditor, recepit de Willelmo atte Fan de Thakstede cotiller[1] apud Thakstede in festo Annunciacionis Beate Marie anno eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [25 March 1401] ducentas libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti Willelmi et illas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skidmoor, receptori, ut supra, apud Wormelowe predictam ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Et de eo quod idem Johannes Oke recepit de Johanne Hayward de Ikelyngton[2] in festo Sancte Marie Magdalene anno regni eiusdem Regis Henrici quinto [22 July 1404] ducentas libras auri et argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum predicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti Johannis Hayward et illas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skidmoor, receptori, ut supra, in castro de Huntyngdon'[3] in Wallia ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke, probator, dicit quod ipse simul cum Waltero Julian de Catteworth[4] apud Hundirle[5] circa festum Sancti Petri in Cathedra anno eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [about 22 February 1401] quadraginta agnellos de Johanne Tyeys precii viginti et sex solidorum et octo denariorum et sexaginta agnellos de Johanne Prytewell[6] precii quadraginta solidorum felonice furati fuerunt, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke, probator, dicit quod ipse simul cum Waltero Julian de Catteworth[7] et Roberto Fermour de Catteworth[8] apud Northbeweme Flete in comitatu Essex'[9] die sabbati proximo ante dominicam in Ramis Palmarum anno eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [26 March 1401] centum bidentes et quadraginta agnellos precii undecim librarum sex solidorum et octo denariorum felonice furati fuerunt. Et quod Johannes, rector ecclesie de Hakeneye,[10] sciens dictos Johannem, Walterum et Robertum feloniam predictam fecisse, statim postea illos cum bidentibus et agnellis predictis apud Hakeneye recepit, unde eos appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke, probator, dicit quod ipse simul cum Johanne Lokyn

[1] See above, p. 90 n. 2. A commission to investigate his alleged treason was set up on 6 May 1407. He may have been a bondman of the abbot of Ramsey. *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 354; *C.F.R. 1405–13*, p. 27.

[2] Ickleton, Cambs. See above, p. 90 n. 2. He had already disturbed the peace in 1401. *C.Cl.R. 1399–1402*, pp. 417, 489.

[3] Huntington, Herefs.

[4] Catworth, Hunts. Above his name appears 'q' per' statutum', for which see above, p. 90 n. 5.

[5] Possibly Thunderaley, Essex, geographically the most suitable identification. P. H. Reaney, *The Place-Names of Essex* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 172.

[6] He may have been the same as John de Prytewell who had sheltered the fugitive earl of Huntingdon at Prittlewell in Essex in Jan. 1400; he was also implicated in the 1404 conspiracy and may have been a valet of Richard II's chamber. *Annales Henrici Quarti*, p. 327; *An English Chronicle*, p. 21; Wylie, i. 422–7; British Museum, Additional MS. 35115 fo. 41v.

[7] Above his name appears 'Q' per statutum', for which see above p. 90 n. 5.

[8] Above his name is an abbreviated note of pardon similar to the last.

[9] Probably North Benfleet, Essex. Reaney, p. 142.

[10] Hackney, Middlesex.

de Fenstanton[1] apud Maldon in comitatu Essex' die dominica in medio Quadragesime anno eiusdem Regis Henrici tercio [5 March 1402] duos equos Johannis Webbe precii quadraginta solidorum felonice furati fuerunt. Et quod dictus Johannes Lokyn est communis receptator latronum, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke, probator, dicit quod ipse die lune in prima septimana Quadragesime anno eiusdem Regis Henrici quarto [5 March 1403] apud Branktre[2] duos equos de Henrico Chapman precii quadraginta solidorum felonice furatus fuit et quod Thomas Snowe de Hilton,[3] sciens dictum Johannem feloniam predictam fecisse, statim post feloniam predictam factam ipsum Johannem Oke cum dictis duobus equis apud Hilton recepit, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes, probator, dicit quod Johannes Sabrisford[4] apud Huntyngdon' in hospicio suo die dominica proximo ante festum Sancti Jacobi Apostoli anno regni eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [24 July 1401] felonice depredatus fuit ipsum Johannem Oke de uno equo rubeo bay cum una stella in fronte precii centum solidorum et de quadraginta solidis monete ipsius Oke et una toga et uno dobelet precii tresdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum et de centum solidis Willelmi Fyns magistri sui, unde eum appellat.[5]

Die iovis proximo post predictum festum Sancti Laurencii Martiris anno eiusdem Regis Henrici sexto [13 August 1405] predictus Johannes Oke de Newent, probator, dicit coram predicto Johanne Benyll coronatore quod Johannes filius Johannis Hayward de Ikelyngton apud Ikelyngton[6] die lune in septimana Pasche anno regni Regis Henrici quarti quarto [16 April 1403] unum equum de Johanne Bonde de Thakstede precii triginta solidorum felonice furatus fuit, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke de Newent, probator et proditor domini regis, dicit quod Willelmus abbas de Wardon,[7] proditor domini regis, tradidit eidem Johanni proditori apud Wardon in festo Apostolorum Simonis et Jude anno regni eiusdem regis sexto [28 October 1404] quat' centas libras auri et argenti ad portandum Owyno de Glendordy in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti abbatis et illas deliberavit Johanni Skidmoor militi, receptori dicti Owyni, apud Seynt Davitz[8] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.[9]

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod Willelmus prior de Newenham,[10] proditor domini regis, tradidit eidem Johanni apud Newenham die lune in septimana Pentecostes anno eiusdem Regis Henrici quinto [19 May 1404] trescentas libras auri et argenti ad portandum dicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per

[1] Above his name appears 'per statutum pro perdonacione ideo quod'.

[2] Braintree, Essex.

[3] Hilton, Hunts.

[4] Above his name appears 'nunc sufficiens quia probator se traduxit (?)'. See p. 90.

[5] After this item there has been added in the same hand as the phrases above the names of the accused, 'per legem terre non h' indicere r' quia probator et . . .'. The hand is a very corrupt one.

[6] See p. 92.

[7] Warden, Beds. A commission to investigate his alleged treason was appointed on 6 July 1406. *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 236.

[8] St. David's, Pembs.

[9] At the end of this item is added 'Joh' al' non culpabilis'.

[10] Newenham, Beds. See p. 90 n. 2. William of Woughton was elected prior in 1395. *V.C.H. Beds.*, i. 381.

preceptum dicti prioris et illas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor apud Madle[1] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod Johannes de Aylesbury miles,[2] proditor domini regis, tradidit eidem Johanni Oke apud Fenditton[3] in comitatu Cantebrig' in festo Sancte Marie Magdalene anno eiusdem Regis Henrici tercio [22 July 1402] trescentas libras auri et argenti ad portandum dicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti Johannis Aylesbury et eas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmore apud castrum de Caldecote[4] in Wallia ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod recepit de Johanne Scot, canonico de Bernewell,[5] proditore domini regis, apud Bernewell in festo Annunciacionis Beate Marie anno regni Regis Henrici quarti [25 March 1402] tercio trescentas libras auri et argenti ad portandum Owyno de Glendordi in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti Johannis Scot et illas deliberavit Johanni Skydmoor, receptori dicti Owyni, in castro de Kerfili[6] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

[*In dorso*]

Item, infrascriptus Johannes Oke, probator et proditor domini regis, dicit quod recepit de Johanne Toucestre, abbate de Bury,[7] proditore domini regis, apud Bury ad festum Natalis Domini anno regni eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [25 December 1400]. Dcc. libras auri et argenti ad portandum Owyno de Glendordi in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti abbatis et illas deliberavit Johanni Skydmoor, receptori dicti Owyni, in castro de Kermerdyn ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod recepit de Johanne Furnhom, commonaco predicte abbatie de Bury et de conventu, proditore domini regis, apud Bury die Parasseve anno eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [1 April 1401] per manus dicti Johannis Furnhom trescentas libras auri et argenti ad portandum dicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit et eas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, ut supra, ad castrum de Penykoyt[8] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod recepit de Thoma sacrista de Bury, commonaco predicte abbatie de Bury, proditore domini regis, apud Bury in festo Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [1 May 1401] .cccc. libras auri et argenti ad portandum dicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit et eas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, ut supra, ad castrum de Beaumareys ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod recepit de Johanne abbate de Woburn,[9] proditore domini regis, apud Woburn in vigilia Pentecostes anno eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [21 May 1401] .ccc. libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Owyno in Walliam, quas sibi portavit per preceptum dicti abbatis et illas deliber-

[1] Madley, Herefs.

[2] Above his name appears 'nom' eodem probatore set. . . .'; the remainder is difficult to decipher.

[3] Fen Ditton, Cambs.

[4] Caldicot, Mon.

[5] Barnwell, Cambs.

[6] Caerphilly, Glam.

[7] Bury St. Edmunds, Suff

[8] Pencoed Castle, Mon.

[9] Woburn, Beds.

avit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, ut supra, ad castrum de Newport in Wallia ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod recepit de priore de Thetford,[1] proditore domini regis, apud Thetford in comitatu Norff' in festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli anno eiusdem Regis Henrici tercio [29 June 1402] .cccc. libras auri et argenti ad portandum dicto Owyno in Walliam, quas sibi portavit per preceptum dicti prioris, et eas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, ut supra, ad castrum de Penykoyt ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod recepit de Johanne priore de Iekesworth,[2] proditore domini regis, apud Iekesworth in festo Sancti Petri Ad Vincula anno eiusdem Regis Henrici secundo [1 August 1401] .ccc. libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Owyno in Walliam, quas sibi portavit per preceptum dicti prioris et eas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, ut supra, ad castrum de Powys[3] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke dicit quod recepit de Johanne abbate de Launden,[4] proditore domini regis, in abbathia sua in festo Sancti Mathei Apostoli anno eiusdem Regis Henrici tercio [21 September 1402] .cccc. libras auri et argenti, ad portandum predicto Owyno in Walliam, quas sibi portavit per preceptum dicti abbatis et eas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori, ut supra, ad castrum de Penbrok'[5] ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Item, idem Johannes Oke de Newent, probator et proditor domini regis, dicit quod recepit de Nicholo Parys de Dokesworth,[6] proditore domini regis, apud Dokesworth in festo Sancti Georgii anno regni dicti Regis Henrici tercio [23 April 1402] .cc. libras auri et argenti ad portandum dicto Owyno in Walliam, quas illuc portavit per preceptum dicti Nicholi et illas deliberavit predicto Johanni Skydmoor, receptori dicti Owyni, ad predictum castrum de Penbrook' ad sustentacionem supradictam, unde eum appellat.

Public Record Office, Gaol Delivery Roll, Justices Itinerant 3/25/3.[7]

Dominus rex mad' [*sic*] dilectis et fidelibus suis Johanni Cokayn, Ricardo Norton et Willelmo Cothristoke litteras suas patentes in hec verba (: Henricus, dei gracia rex Anglie) et Francie et dominus Hibernie, dilectis et fidelibus suis Johanni Cokayn, Ricardo Norton et Willelmo Cothristoke, salutem. Sciatis quod constituimus (vos iusticiarios ad) gaolam nostram Huntyngdon' de prisonibus in ea existentibus deliberandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad certum diem quem (vestris ad hoc) provideritis conveniatis, apud Huntyngdon' ad gaolam illam deliberandum facturi inde quod ad iusticiarios pertinet secundum legem (et consuetudinem) Anglie, saluis nobis amerciamentis et aliis ad nos inde spectantibus. Mandavimus enim vicecomiti nostro Hunt' quod ad certum diem '(. . .) scire facit omnes prisonas eiusdem gaole et eorum attachiare coram vobis et duobus vestrum ibidem venire facit. In cuius (rei testimonium has litteras nostras

[1] Thetford, Norf. Commission of inquiry into his alleged treason was appointed on 6 July 1406. *C.P.R. 1405–8*, p. 236.

[2] Ixworth, Suff. John de Welles became prior in 1395. *V.C.H. Suffolk*, ii. 107.

[3] Powis, Montgom.

[4] Lavendon, Bucks.

[5] Pembroke.

[6] Duxford, Cambs.

[7] The right-hand side of this document is mutilated throughout its length. The obscured passages are indicated here by round brackets; wherever possible the missing phrases have been reconstructed.

fieri) fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud West' .xii. die Novembris anno regni nostri septimo [12 November 1405]. Quarum litterarum pretextu (. . .) prefatis iusticiariis apud Huntyngdon' die martis proximo post festum Sancti Nicholai proximum futurum [8 December 1405] omnes prisones in gaola predicta (. . .). Et de visum cuiuslibet ville et loci in quibus felonie, unde prisones predicti fuerunt arettati, facte fuerunt viginti quatuor (. . . coram) coronatore et ballivis libertatum quod tunc essent ibidem cum rotulis, etc.. Et vicecomes fecit inde execucionem, etc..

Deliberacio gaole domini regis de Huntyngdon' facta coram Johanne Cokayn, Ricardo Norton et Willelmo (Cothristoke, iusticiariis) regis ad gaolam illam de prisonibus in ea existentibus deliberandum assignantibus, ibidem die martis (proximo post festum Sancti) Nicholai anno regni Regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie septimo [8 December 1405].

Hunt'.[1] Johannes Veyse de Holbech,[2] alias dictus Johannes Veyse de Leyghton,[3] alias captus per suspeccionem latrocinii, venit (coram Johanne Benyll, uno) coronatorum domini regis comitatus predicti, et Pagano Tiptot, vicecomite eiusdem comitatus, die martis proximo post festum Sancti Laurencii anno (regni Regis Henrici) quarti post conquestum sexto. Et devenit probator. Et cognovit se esse proditorem domini regis de eo quod ipse recepit de Johanne (Dunwych de) Gumecestre,[4] proditore domini regis, apud Gumecestre in festo Corporis Christi anno regni domini regis nunc quinto [29 May 1404] quadr(aginta et tres libras) auri et argenti ad portandum abbati de Ramsey, quas idem probator portavit eidem abbati usque Ramesey.[5] Et predictus abbas (. . .) tradidit prefato probatori centum et viginti libras ad predictas quadraginta et tres libras ut illas portaret ad Magistrum Johannem (Swyneshed, et illas) ei portavit et illas ei liberavit tercio die sequenti apud Swyneshed[6] ad mittendum Owyno de Glendordy in Walliam. Et predictus (abbas . . .) eidem Johanni Veyse tresdecim solidos et quatuor denarios pro labore suo et duodecim pro botehyre ad sustentacionem (guerrarum. Et) appellavit inde tam predictum Johannem Dunwych quam predictum abbatem. Et modo coram iusticiariis hic veniunt tam predictus Johannes (Swyneshed . . .) abbas et Johannes Dunwych, virtute appelli predicti capti per vicecomitem ducti. Et super hoc viso appello predicto per coronatorem (. . .) predicto probatore si ipse appellum suum predictum prosequi et manutenere velit nec ne. Qui dicit quod sic super quo (. . .) allocuti sunt qualiter de prodicione predicta se velint acquietare, dicunt quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles. (Et inde de bono et malo ponunt) se super patriam. Et predictus probator similiter. Ideo fiat inde iurata, etc.. Et super hoc iuratores exacti veniunt qui, de (eo quod electi, triati) et iurati, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predicti abbas et Johannes Dunwych in nullo sunt culpabiles de prodicione (predicta . . .) retraxerunt. Ideo predictus Johannes Veyse probator etc., detrahatur a ponte Hunt' per medium ville usque furcas (. . .) Et ibidem suspendatur. Et predicti abbas et Johannes Dunwych quo ad appellum predicti Johannis Veyse eant inde (. . .) probatoris nulla etc.. Set tamen predicti abbas et Johannes Dunwych ad sectam domini regis allocuti sunt qualiter (se velint) acquietare, dicunt separatim quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles. Et inde de bono et malo separatim ponunt se (super patriam. Et) iuratores veniunt qui, ad hoc electi, triati et iurati, dicunt super

[1] In margin.
[2] Holbeach, Lincs.
[3] Possibly Leighton, Hunts.
[4] Dunwych was a clerk. *Reg. of Philip Repingdon*, i. 94.
[5] Ramsey, Hunts.
[6] Swineshead, Lincs.

sacramentum suum quod predicti abbas et Johannes Dunwych in nullo (sunt inde culpabiles de prodicionibus) predictis nec umquam se occasionibus premissis retraxerunt. Ideo ipsi eant inde quieti, etc. .

Hunt'.[1] Johannes Manypeny de Gumecestre, alias captus per appellum predicti probatoris suspensi de eo quod predictus (proditor recepit de prefato Johanne) Manypeny apud Gumecestre circa festum Decollacionis Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno regnorum [*sic*] domini regis nunc [about 29 August] (. . . quadraginta) libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Johanni Swyneshed, quas quidem quadraginta libras statim post (festum Decollacionis Sancti) Johannis Baptiste predictus Johannes Veyse portavit dicto Johanni Swyneshed usque dictam villam de Swyneshed et ibidem (illas ei deliberavit ut) illas mitteret ad dictum Owynum, et dictus Johannes Manypeny dedit eidem Johanni Veyse tresdecim solidos (et quatuor denarios pro labore suo) ad sustentacionem guerrarum predictarum. Item, Robertus, vicarius ecclesie de Alcumbury,[2] alias captus per appellum predictum (de eo quod predictus) proditor recepit de prefato vicario apud Alcumbury circa predictum festum Decollacionis Sancti Johannis Baptiste (. . .) sexaginta libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Magistro Johanni Swyneshed usque villam de (Swyneshed ut illas mitteret ad dictum) Owynum in Walliam, quas quidem sexaginta libras idem Johannes Veyse ad dictum Magistrum Johannem (Swyneshed) statim post predictum festum Decollacionis Sancti Johannis Baptiste portavit ad sustentacionem guerrarum predictarum. (Item, Ricardus, vicarius de. . . .) Gumecestre, alias captus per appellum predicti probatoris suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor simul cum Willelmo (. . .) in comitatu Lincoln', Johanni Herry de eadem et Willelmo Bosewell de eadem recepit de prefato vicario apud Gum(ecestre circa) festum Sancti Petri Ad Vincula anno regni domini regis nunc quinto [about 1 August 1404] quadraginta libras auri et argenti quas sibi (deliberavit) ad portandum Magistro Johanni Swyneshed clerico, proditori domini regis, ut ipse Magister Johannes mitteret dictas (quadraginta libras ad) Owynum de Glendordy in Walliam, quas quidem quadraginta libras cum maiore summa monete (. . .) trussyngcofres ad dictum Owynum in Walliam per predictos Johannem Veyse probatorem et Willelmum Bosewell (. . .) suarum. Modo veniunt coram iusticiariis hic per vicecomitem ducti. Et visis appellis predictis separatim allocuti (sunt qualiter) se velint acquietare, dicunt separatim quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles. Et inde de bono et malo ponunt se super patriam. Et iuratores veniunt qui, ad hoc electi, triati et iurati, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predicti Johannes Manypeny, Robertus et Ricardus in nullo (sunt inde culpabiles de) prodicionibus predictis nec umquam se occasionibus premissis retraxerunt. Ideo ipsi eant inde quieti, etc. .

Hunt'.[3] Thomas Gylden de Gumecestre, alias captus per appellum predicti probatoris suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor (recepit de prefato Thoma) Gilden apud Gumecestre in predicto festo Corporis Christi anno regnorum [*sic*] domini regis nunc quinto [29 May 1404] viginti libras (auri et argenti ad portandum) dicto Magistro Johanni Swyneshed usque villam de Swyneshed, et illas sibi portavit et liberavit predicto Magistro Johanne (Swyneshed ad) mittendum dicto Owyno in Walliam ad sustentacionem predictam. Item, Johannes Bussh de Bernewell, alias captus (per appellum predicti probatoris) suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor recepit de prefato Johanne Bussh apud Bernewell in festo Pentecostes anno regni (domini regis nunc) quinto [18 May 1404] quadraginta et

[1] In margin. [2] Alconbury, Hunts. [3] In margin.

quatuor libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Magistro Johanni Swyneshed usque ad villam de (Swyneshed, et illas) ei portavit et liberavit ibidem ut illas mitteret dicto Owyno in Walliam ad sustentacionem guerrarum predictarum. Modo (veniunt coram prefatis iusticiariis hic) per vicecomitem ducti. Et visis appellis predictis separatim allocuti sunt qualiter de prodicionibus predictis se velint acquietare, dicunt separatim (quod ipsi in nullo) sunt inde culpabiles. Et inde de bono et malo ponunt se super patriam. Ideo fiat inde iurata, etc.. Iuratores veniunt qui, ad hoc electi, (triati et iurati, dicunt super) sacramentum suum quod predicti Thomas (Gylden) et Johannes Bussh in nullo sunt culpabiles de prodicionibus predictis nec umquam se occasionibus premissis retraxer(unt. Ideo ipsi eant inde quieti, etc. .)

Hunt'.[1] Robertus, capellanus parochialis de Wold Weston,[2] alias captus per appellum predicti probatoris suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor (recepit de prefato Roberto) apud Wold Weston in crastino Sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni domini regis nunc quinto [30 September 1403] viginti libras auri et argenti (. . . Item, Ricardus . . .) parochialis de Catteworth, alias per appellum predicti probatoris suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor recepit de predicto Ricardo apud (. . . in) predicto crastino Sancti Michaelis anno regni domini regis nunc quinto [30 September 1403] quadraginta libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Magistro Johanne (Swyneshed usque) ad villam de Swyneshed, et illas ei ibidem deliberavit ut illas mitteret dicto Owyno in Walliam ad sustentacionem (guerrarum predictarum. Modo veniunt) coram prefatis iusticiariis hic per vicecomitem ducti. Et visis appellis predictis separatim allocuti sunt qualiter de prodicionibus predictis (se velint acquietare), dicunt separatim quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles. Et inde de bono et malo ponunt se super patriam. Ideo fiat inde iur(ata, etc.. Iuratores veniunt qui, ad hoc) electi, triati et iurati, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predicti Robertus et Ricardus in nullo sunt culpabiles de prodicionibus predictis nec umquam (se occasionibus premissis) retraxerunt. Ideo ipsi eant inde quieti, etc. .

[*In dorso*]

(Hunt'. Johannes, frater priorati) de Huntyngdon', alias captus per appellum predicti probatoris suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor recepit de prefato fratre apud Huntyngdon' (circa festum Corporis) Christi anno regni domini regis nunc quinto [about 29 May 1404] unam litteram clausam ad portandum fratribus Sancti Augustini de Boston,[3] et ad (. . .) ut prepararent totum auri quod possent et ut essent parati erga adventum suum et ipse portaret secum quadraginta libras (. . .) de priore et conventu suo vel plus si posset ut possent ire ad Owynum de Glendordy in Walliam cum auro predicto ad (sustentacionem guerrarum) supradictarum. Modo venit coram prefatis iusticiariis hic per vicecomitem ductus. Et viso appello predicto allocutus est qualiter de prodicione predicta (se velit acquietare), ideo dicit quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis. Et inde de bono et malo ponit se super patriam. Ideo fiat inde iurata, etc.. Iuratores (veniunt qui, ad hoc) electi, triati et iurati, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predictus frater Johannes in nullo est culpabilis de prodicione predicta nec umquam se occasione (premissa retraxit.) Ideo ipse eat inde quietus, etc..

(Hunt. Robertus Brig)ham de Cantebr', alias captus per appellum predicti probatoris suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor recepit de prefato Roberto

[1] In margin. [2] Old Weston, Hunts. [3] Boston, Lincs.

Brigham (. . .) in festo Pentecostes anno regni domini regis nunc quinto [18 May 1404] quadraginta libras auri et argenti ad portandum predicto Magistro Johanni (Swyneshed usque villam de Swyneshed), et illas ibidem deliberavit ut illas mitteret dicto Owyno in Walliam ad sustentacionem supradictam. Modo veniunt coram prefatis (iusticiariis hic per vicecomitem) ductus. Et viso appello predicto allocutus est qualiter de prodicione predicta se velit acquietare, dicit quod ipse in nullo est (culpabilis). Et inde de bono et malo ponit se super patriam. Ideo fiat inde iurata de visum de Cantebr' contra diem veneris in septimana (. . .), etc. . Et interim predictus Robertus dimittitur per manucapcionem, etc. .

(Hunt'. Abbas de) Louthe Parke,[1] alias captus per appellum predicti Johannis Veyse probatoris domini regis suspensi de eo quod predictus proditor (recepit de prefato abbate) apud Louthe Parke die iovis proximo post festum Sancti Martini anno regnorum [*sic*] domini regis nunc quinto [15 November 1403] centum et (. . . auri et) argenti quas sibi tradidit ad portandum Magistro Johanni Swyneshed usque villam de Swyneshed in comitatu Lincoln' (et illas ei ibidem deliberavit) ad mittendum dicto Owyno, quas illuc portavit et deliberavit eidem Magistro Johanni Swyneshed apud Swyneshed (. . .) sequ' ad sustentacionem guerrarum predictarum.[2] Item, Willelmus Sawetre, abbas de Thorneye,[3] alias captus (per appellum predicti Johannis Ve)yse, probatoris domini regis suspensi, de eo quod predictus proditor recepit de prefato abbate apud Thorneye (. . .) anno regni domini regis nunc quinto sexaginta libras auri et argenti, et de Thoma Overton, abbate de Crouland,[4] (proditore domini regis), apud Croulond duas coupes plenas auro et uno pari trussyngcofres, et de Johanne, priore de Spaldyng,[5] proditore (domini regis, . . .) libras auri et argenti ut illas mitteret dicto Owyno apud dictam villam de Swyneshed ad sustentacionem (guerrarum predictarum. Et) dominus rex mandavit prefatis iusticiariis breve suum clausum in hec verba: Henricus, dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus (Hibernie, dilectis et fidelibus suis) Johanni Cokayn, nuper uni iusticiariorum nostrorum ad gaolam nostram Huntyngdon' deliberandum assignantium, salutem. Volentes certis de (. . .) singulis appellis que Johannes Veysy de Holbech et Thomas [*sic*] Oke defuncti, nuper probatores nostri in gaola (nostra Huntyngdon') vel eorum alter fecit coram nuper vicecomite nostro Hunt' et coronatoribus nostris eiusdem comitatus versus Thomam abbatem (de) Loutheparke et Johannem priorem de Spaldyng et quemlibet eorum de quibusdam prodicionibus et feloniis per (eosdem factis) vobis mandamus quod appella predicta cum adminiculis et omnibus aliis appella illa tangentibus que in (. . .) ut dicitur, quibuscumque nominibus iidem abbas et prior ac predicti nuper probatores in appellis illis nuncuperentur, nobis (. . .) sub sigillo vestro distincte et aperte ac saluo et secure per aliquem pro quo respondere voluitis sine (dilacione . . .) hoc breve ut ulterius inde ordinare valeamus prout de iure et secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri ordinare

[1] Louth Park, Lincs.

[2] It is significant that the chronicle of Louth Park gives sympathetic treatment to its account of the revolt of Archbishop Scrope in 1405. *The Chronicle of Louth Park Abbey*, ed. E. Venables (Lincolnshire Record Soc., 1891), pp. 44–5.

[3] Thorney, Cambs.

[4] Crowland, Lincs. Overton had been closely associated with the family of Edmund Mortimer, who declared himself a supporter of Glyn Dŵr in Dec. 1402. Ramsay, i. 53; *C.Cl.R. 1399–1402*, pp. 488, 492, 497, 576; *C.Cl.R. 1396–9*, p. 336; *C.P.R. 1396–9*, pp. 34, 185–6, 439.

[5] Spalding, Lincs.

valeamus prout de iure et secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri Anglie fuerit. (Teste me ipso) apud West'. viii. die Februarii anno regni nostri septimo [8 February 1406] virtute cuius brevis appella in brevi predicto contenta (. . .) Rege in cancellaria sua. Ideo Johannes Cokayn capitalis iusticiarius sic inde quietus, etc. .

Deliberacionis gaole domini regis de Huntyngdon' facte coram Johanne Cokayn, etc. anno Henrici quarti septimo.

A Lollard Rising in Kent: 1431 or 1438?

TWO ROYAL WRITS from the register of Abbot Curteys of Bury St. Edmunds,[1] printed in *Archaeologia* in 1831,[2] throw some light on the history of Lollardy, one of them making specific reference to Kent. In the manuscript neither is dated by the year—the first has the date 5 June and the second 6 July—but the editor attributed both of them to 1431, and this date has been followed by the most recent writer who has cited them.[3] But although they have hitherto been treated as a pair of writs, referring to different phases of the same disorders, such a belief appears to be without any real foundation. Their very position in the register, where the writ of 6 July appears at fos. 102–102v and that of 5 June at fos. 328–328v, should warn the reader against treating them as a pair.[4]

An examination of the contents of the writs may help to date them. That of 6 July, addressed to the alderman and bailiffs of Bury,[5] relates that Lollards have been strewing bills to stir up the people against God's peace and the king's, and that they proposed to destroy all politic rule, spiritual and temporal. The narrative continues by referring to what the Lollards had intended to do in the days of the king's father, an allusion presumably to the Oldcastle rebellion, and states that they 'of ladds and lurdains wolde make lordes'. The diligence of the duke of Gloucester had enabled the government to do execution on the traitors, whose aims however still continued. Reference is made to a letter which had been sent to the alderman, but as it was not known whether this had reached him, this further letter was sent ordering him to chastise the traitors, and to make special enquiry about persons who absented themselves from their craft and about strangers who gave rise to suspicion. This description tallies with other accounts of the 1431 rising in both narrative and record sources, so there can be little doubt that the editor was correct in attributing the writ to

[1] British Museum, Additional MS. 14848.

[2] *Archaeologia*, xxiii. 339–43.

[3] M. E. Aston, 'Lollardy and sedition, 1381–1431', *Past and Present*, xvii (1960), 29, 43.

[4] These references differ from the folios given in *Archaeologia*, the result of a refoliation, done presumably after the MS. came into the possession of the British Museum in 1844.

[5] *Archaeologia*, xxiii. 341–3.

that year.[1] Clearly it was the reference to the earlier letter which led the editor to assume that the writ of 5 June belonged to the same year, but there is no reason to accept this assumption, more especially as an indictment of the rebels at Abingdon has been preserved in the Bury register,[2] evidence that information about the rising had in fact reached Suffolk independently of the writ of 6 July.

The writ of 5 June, addressed to the abbot, contains a description of disorders which do not coincide with what is known of the 1431 rising. In the preamble one finds the words

> . . . in this holy tyme of Whytsonwoke, the mysgouerned men of dyvers Shires of this oure land, & in especyal the Shire of Kent, aswel lollardes as other robbers & pillers of oure peple, were, in grete noumbre, & in ryotous wyse, gaderyng in the said Shire of Kent, to haue do the harme that they coude haue myght, and to haue subuertyd al the polletiquereule of this oure land; of the whiche mysgouerned men, S[r] Nichol Coneway, knyght, . . . shuld a bene a Capitaigne . . .

The writ continues by saying that a number of the offenders had been arrested, but that there were rumours of similar troubles in Cambridgeshire. The abbot was ordered to take action to prevent the gathering of the misgoverned men, and to certify the king periodically of the actions taken.[3] The phrases quoted are the strongest evidence against the attribution of the writ to 1431, as there is no evidence from that year to suggest that Kent was then a centre of trouble, let alone the principal area affected. Had the writ been directed to a recipient in Kent, the emphasis on this shire might have been discounted, but as it was directed to the abbot of Bury, full weight must be given to the affirmation that Kent was especially troubled by the rising. Had this been the case in 1431, it is likely that there would have been some reference to it in either the narrative sources or the national records, both of which contain valuable evidence about the troubles of the year, but in fact none of these mention Kent. The leader of the revolt was not Sir Nicholas Conway, but William Maundevill or Perkins, a bailiff of Abingdon, who took the name of Jack Sharp, and the areas which were most seriously affected were Berkshire, Salisbury, London and Coventry.[1]

Had there been no other year during Curteys' abbacy in which there were Lollard disorders, it might still have been possible to make out a case for 1431. But there was in fact another year, 1438, which appears to fit even better with the evidence, as in that year there was trouble in Kent in which Lollards appear to have played a part. One of the *Brut* continuations says

[1] *Annales Monasterii S. Albani a Johanne Amundesham*, in *Chronica monasterii S. Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Ser., 1870–1), i. 63–4; *Chronicle of London, 1089–1483*, ed. E. Tyrrell and N. H. Nicolas (1827), p. 119; *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Soc., new ser. xvii), p. 172; Public Record Office, *Coram rege* roll, K.B. 27/681, Rex, mm. 8–8d; P.R.O., Warrants for Issue, E 404/48/159; *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, iv. 89, 91; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1429–35*, p. 123.

[2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 14848, fos. 89–89v.

[3] *Archaeologia*, xxiii. 340–1.

that five men from Tenterden were executed for heresy at Maidstone in that year[1] and a commission of oyer and terminer of 1 June included Lollardies, along with insurrections, rebellions and felonies, as offences into which inquisition was to be made.[2] In 1438 too Whitsunday fell on 1 June, a date which coincides with the reference to 'this holy tyme of Whytsonwoke' in the writ of 5 June in the Bury register. Furthermore, the grant of a pardon in May 1440 to Sir Nicholas Conway for all offences committed before 1 February of that year[3] would appear to fit the later rather than the earlier date for his revolt. It is of course possible that the pardon could have been long delayed, but it seems more likely that it would refer to offences of a more recent date. The attribution of the writ to 1438 also circumvents the problem posed, if one accepts the 1431 dating, by the fact that in May 1432 Conway was free and killed a man, allegedly in self-defence, in a brawl.[4] The absence of any pardon to Conway between June 1431, when he must have been arrested if the Bury writ belongs to the earlier year, and this date may be considered a small piece of negative evidence in favour of assigning the writ to another year. One final argument for 1438 may be found in the position of the writ in the register. Although the abbot's *acta* are not arranged in strict chronological order, there are few cases when there is a wild divergence in date between adjacent items in the register. The memoranda which precede the writ all date from 1438, and although the next entry after it is undated, that in turn is followed by a papal letter of 1 October 1437 and royal letters in accordance with it of 18 February, presumably February 1438.[5]

To the historian of Lollardy, the importance of this redating lies in the fact that Lollardy continued to be associated with disorder and revolt even after the failure of the 1431 rising, in the fears of the governing class as well as in the beliefs of the chronicler. The redating is also of significance to the historian of Kent, as it throws further light on an obscure rising, and emphasizes the discontent that was already active in the county more than a decade before the Cade rebellion of 1450. The possible connexion of heresy and revolt in the troubles of 1438 suggests moreover that religious dissensions may have been one of the influences in stirring up the latter revolt.

J. A. F. THOMSON

[1] *The Brut*, ed. F. W. D. Brie (Early English Text Soc., 1906–8), ii. 472.
[2] *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1436–41*, p. 200.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 398.
[4] P.R.O., K.B. 27/693, Rex, m. 7d.
[5] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 14848, fos. 328, 328v–329.

The Muniments of Syon abbey: their Administration and Migration in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

CHANGES IN OWNERSHIP of estates, division of rights and properties and inevitable losses through the passage of time have made the re-assembly of mediaeval muniments a difficult and often unrewarding task.[1] Successive owners of larger manuscripts—coucher books, registers and cartularies of monastic lands, for example—have often inscribed their names on flyleaves to give some indication of these changes.[2] Title deeds, the originals of such collections, were much more easily lost or destroyed, and those which do survive are often well scattered and give little or no indication of former ownership. Yet to trace such evidences of an estate, where no cartulary or register has survived to repair the loss, is of considerable value as indicating not only the way in which the estate grew up, but also as showing the many later vicissitudes of the title deeds and the property to which they referred. The fortunate survival of comparatively large numbers of title deeds and analogous documents formerly in the possession of the abbey of Syon, makes a study of this kind possible.

The complete history of the Brigettines at Syon has yet to be written, but the main lines of the foundation are fairly well known.[3] Lord Fitzhugh, a member of the household of Sweden's English queen,[4] came into contact with a monastic order founded there forty years before by St. Bridget. So impressed was he that he made over an estate at Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire, in 1406, so that a house of the order might be established in England.[5] The gift did not produce immediate results, but with the active support of the Crown and an initial charge of a thousand marks on the exchequer, a house was built at Twickenham in 1415 which was later moved to Isleworth. It was endowed by the Crown with extensive lands, formerly the property of alien monasteries seized during the French wars. Many of these estates had already been granted to farm for terms of years or for life, so that the grants to Syon were, in effect, reversions. Thus, the priory of Lancaster and its estates formed part of the original grant of 1415, but until the death

[1] I am grateful to Professor J. S. Roskell for reading this article.

[2] G. R. C. Davis, *List of Cartularies of Great Britain* (1958), for numerous examples.

[3] M. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1948–59), ii. 176–81 and the references there cited; F. R. Johnston, 'The cult of St. Bridget of Sweden in fifteenth-century England' (unpublished Manchester M.A. thesis, 1947), *ex inf.* Professor Roskell.

[4] Philippa, daughter of Henry IV, had married Eric, king of Denmark and Sweden, in 1406 (J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV* (1884–98), ii. 458).

[5] Public Record Office, Augmentations, Ancient Deeds, Series BS (E 329), 117.

of the prior in 1428, Syon received from it only an annual income of £110.[1] Similarly, Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, held for life the farm of lands in Sussex and Gloucestershire, late of the monasteries of Séez and Fécamp, also granted to Syon in 1415. He was still alive in November 1443, when the bishop of Exeter was licensed to acknowledge that the lands should revert to the abbey after Sir John's death, which occurred a month later.[2] Syon had had to wait nearly thirty years for this valuable property. Five years earlier, the death of Queen Joan had brought in the reversions of lands held by her, including Spalding, Corsham and other lands late of St. Nicholas', Angers. But even as late as 1474–6 some former Fécamp property was still in other hands.[3]

The years 1428, 1438 and 1443 in particular witnessed the transfer of large blocks of land to Syon, and must also have involved the transfer and deposit of relevant title deeds. No direct evidence of this has survived beyond a deed for the delivery of two papal bulls,[4] but the argument of practical necessity is a strong one. This can be supported by the evidence of press-marks endorsed on many Syon deeds to facilitate reference and storage. Such marks will be dealt with below,[5] but it may be said here that they are often the only indication that Syon had possession of the deed in question. On many of these is evidence of earlier ownership. Sometimes the transfer must have included the complete muniments of an estate, at other times only those connected with a particular piece of property. From both Lancaster and St. Michael's Mount came a cartulary as well as title deeds[6]; from other estates came large numbers of separate writings, which the new owners often endorsed with some note of explanation. At least twenty-one documents giving title to the chantry of Holy Trinity in St. John's Church, Yeovil, formed an early addition to the abbey muniments, all but one concerning transactions before the grant to Syon.[7] Five fourteenth-century deeds concerning tenements in Yeovil attached to the rectory there similarly became part of the abbey muniments, and were endorsed not only with a press-mark, but also with the word 'expiratur' where leases fell in after Syon gained possession.[8] The number of deeds thus finding their way to the muniment room at Syon must have been very considerable.

[1] *C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls] 1422–9*, pp. 205–7.

[2] *C.P.R. 1441–6*, p. 221; G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, v. 254.

[3] D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), p. 139.

[4] P.R.O., Augmentations, Miscellaneous Books, Miscellaneous Charters (E 315), 46/154.

[5] Below, pp. 106–7

[6] British Museum, Harley MS. 3764 (Lancaster), printed in *Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster*, ed. W. O. Roper (Chetham Soc., new ser. xxvi, xxxi); *The Cartulary of St. Michael's Mount (Hatfield House MS. no. 315)*, ed. P. L. Hull (Devon & Cornwall Record Soc., new ser. v).

[7] P.R.O., E 315/32/6, 39, 109; 33/147–8, 152, 179, 183, 211; 34/94, 133; 35/173; 37/59, 118, 175, 180; 38/200; 39/81; 40/109; 42/31; 45/317.

[8] P.R.O., E 315/34/198; 37/122; 40/104; 46/265; 48/237.

Such transfers were by no means confined to title deeds, but included equally valuable records of the legal and financial administration of the newly-acquired lands, namely court rolls and ministers' accounts. Court rolls of Cheltenham handed over to Syon, for example, included a gaol delivery roll of the justices of the abbey of Fécamp for 1332–3, and rolls of the justices of Sir John Cornwall for 1398–1417.[1] Ministers' accounts for Cheltenham and the neighbouring manor of Slaughter, also Fécamp property, survive from 1344 and cover the later years of alien rule and Cornwall's period of tenure as farmer.[2] Similar collections of rolls and accounts for pre-Syon years have survived for other estates, and also include a rental of Lancaster for 1363–4, a rental of Yarcombe from the reign of Edward I and a custumal of Felstead of 1222–4 in a copy made in Henry VI's reign.[3] These rolls and accounts, as well as title deeds and leases concerning the newly-acquired properties, were of the utmost value, and demanded careful and safe custody. They were evidence of legal title which might be needed at any time, and required some kind of arrangement and storage for easy reference.

* * * * * *

The muniments at Syon Abbey were the responsibility of the Treasuress and her fellow, whose duties were explicitly outlined in the Rule of the house:

> Under the kepyng of the Tresoures, and of her felawe, al the minymentes of the monastery and temporal godes, in golde and sylver, and other zeftes. . . . In the tresoury hows schal be a grete cheste, with two dyvers lokkes and keyes, the tresoures kepyng that one, and her felawe that other. . . .[4]

The type of chest thus envisaged must have been one with a single compartment, and not the best method of storage for large numbers of deeds. It seems that this great chest, probably the one actually seen by Tanner,[5] was soon replaced by a more complicated system, one more in keeping with the needs of the abbey, and one in use elsewhere. Press-marks on deeds of title indicate that smaller units of storage were in use, though the chest might well have been adequate for rolls. The fortunate survival of a full endorsement on one deed provides the key to what would otherwise have been a matter of supposition. On the dorse of a quitclaim to the abbey by the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, is the following inscription:

> The relesse of Crist College made to Syon of the advowson of Naavby. ✠ Patet in pixide sub hoc signo. Intratur in regestro folio xxij. Naavby.[6]

[1] P.R.O., *Lists and Indexes No. VI*, p. 195 (nos. 175/25–6).
[2] P.R.O., *Lists and Indexes No. V*, pp. 154–5, 158 (nos. 851/22–6; 852/1–25; 858/24–30; 859/1–8).
[3] P.R.O., *Lists and Indexes No. XXV*, p. 158 (portf. 9/79); p. 68 (roll 171); p. 84 (rolls 186–7).
[4] G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (1840), p. 391.
[5] T. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (1744), p. 324.
[6] P.R.O., E 315/33/19.

From this two points emerge. The first is that a register was kept in the abbey, a matter of no great surprise, though its existence was not positively known. No further references to it have been found on Syon deeds, but the existence of cartularies concerning the Lancashire and Cornish estates would suggest that the surviving deeds for these properties would not need further registration. The second point is that the units of storage suggested by the press-marks were small boxes or drawers, each inscribed with a sign which was repeated on each deed inside it. This kind of arrangement may still be seen in the Aerary at St. George's, Windsor[1] and in the College of Vicars Choral, Wells.

The problem facing the first Treasuress of Syon and her fellow was not an easy one, for they had to devise a system flexible enough to admit the many later additions to be expected as estates reverted to the abbey. It was impossible to use a system like that at Stanley abbey in Wiltshire, where the muniments were divided into categories with no room for large additions in the future. There, royal and papal charters and bulls, with other general material, were organized into three sections, and all other title deeds were filed alphabetically according to the places referred to, with a system of numbers and dots on each to signify where, and in what order, each document could be found.[2] Nor was it a question, at Syon, of reorganizing a complete muniment collection, as occurred at Lewes about 1400.[3] It was, on the contrary, a matter of devising a framework to assimilate documents which had already formed part of earlier collections and which might arrive at any time. Several deeds and their endorsements bear witness to their former place in other houses: a grant of Richard, earl of Cornwall, to the monks of St. Michael's Mount, about 1227–42, for example, was endorsed 'Registrata est' to denote that it had been entered into their cartulary.[4] The deed, together with the cartulary, then came into the hands of Syon. An early deed of Lancaster bears a contemporary, or near-contemporary, endorsement by the priory of the name of the place involved, which, on transfer to Syon, was also marked with the appropriate sign, together with a description of the grant to which it gave claim.[5] This kind of endorsement is very common, and provides ample evidence that transfer from one owner to another involved something more than a change of storage.

The system which finally emerged at Syon was the only one possible in such a situation, namely the organization of titles on a topographical basis. Press-marks for sixteen sections have been traced, and there are indications

[1] J. N. Dalton, *The Manuscripts of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle* (Windsor, 1957), pp. xxix–xxxii.

[2] W. de G. Birch, 'History of the Cistercian abbey of Stanley', *Wilts. Archaeol. Magazine*, xv (1875), 239–79.

[3] V. H. Galbraith, 'Press-marks on the deeds of Lewes priory', *Sussex Archaeol. Collections*, lxv (1924), 196–205.

[4] P.R.O., Ancient Deeds, series B (E 326), 8659; *Cartulary of St. Michael's Mount*, no. 6.

[5] P.R.O., E 315/44/48.

that at least two others existed which apparently had no mark of their own but were distinguished by name instead.[1] With two exceptions, Isleworth and St. Michael's Mount, the press-marks were geometrical designs, a double saltire, for example, for some of the Lancaster estates, and a dot in a circle for Minchinhampton.[2] Isleworth and St. Michael's were perhaps the work of some more imaginative Treasuress, who contrived a scaly water-monster for the Thames-side property and a sword for the Mount of the Archangel. No kind of sub-classification was needed in this system, each new block of property being given a new mark, even in cases where, as with Yeovil, some kind of division was necessary. The answer there was to make a distinction between rectory, chantry and town properties, and to give each a different and totally unrelated mark.

In addition, there were two other kinds of press-mark, letters and names. Three categories were distinguished by Lombardic letters and numbers, L-1, M and M-1, which include what may loosely be called 'general matter'. Six deeds so far traced in the first group concern the advowsons of Yeovil and Croston.[3] Three with the letter M cover even more general matter: the grant to Syon by its feoffees of Worton, Lancaster, Loders, Felstead and the Séez property, either directly or in reversion in 1425–6; the delivery of seisin of the lands; and the transfer of two papal bulls to the abbess in 1429.[4] Under the press-mark M-1 appear six documents, in four cases recording delivery from the feoffees of the abbey of properties received up to November 1424, and the transfer of Lancaster in 1431–2.[5] It is possible that this represents an earlier system of arrangement, for the contents of these three categories seem to be divided arbitrarily, and cover a period before any very large accessions of deeds would have occurred. Even so, the estates of Yeovil and Isleworth, for example, were held before this time, and show no sign of similar marks.

A small group of deeds lies outside this main stream. They are endorsed 'Woyde' and appear to have no unity of content.[6] They may, however, be connected with John Wood, steward of the abbey in the time of Edward IV[7], and be related to his administration. Examples of obedientiaries with separate muniments have been found for other houses, and this may represent an extension of the process.

The limitations of a study of the muniments of Syon by means of press-marks alone are obvious. Further research may bring to light marks which

[1] These are Bradpole (Dors.) and Martock (Som.).

[2] Many of the press-marks are based on forms of the cross: Atherington and other Sussex estates were under a form of saltire, Throwley, Chilham and Molash a cross potent, Yeovil town properties a tau cross, and Cherry Hinton a double tau. Fishbourne is like a pall in a triangle, Brede an inverted shield and Yeovil church lands like a fish hook.

[3] P.R.O., E 315/32/124, 33/99, 35/49, 40/152, 161, 41/18.

[4] P.R.O., E 315/46/154; E 326/5417, 8768(2).

[5] P.R.O., E 326/1530, 8768(3), 8770, 9294; E 329/150, 208.

[6] P.R.O., E 326/5390, 5643, 5666, 5991, 6777.

[7] In 1479–80 (E 326/5227).

have not been traced for such properties as Tilshead, Corsham and Felstead, where no original deeds have as yet been found. Equally, what may be called the 'working papers' of the abbey, the many receipts and acquittances, bonds and obligations, as well as court rolls and ministers' accounts, have no distinguishing marks to indicate their arrangement in the muniment room. These, nevertheless, have survived in sufficient numbers to suggest that their bulk was considerable. Surviving receipts, for example, include a number issued by the abbess to Hugh Kene, her receiver in the west[1]; at least seven acquittances have been found for an annual rent of 3s 4d payable to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College, and six for an annuity of 20s to John Eyston.[2] A number of other writings seem to have defied classification, including an undertaking by Abbot John Charde and the convent of Muchelney to include the ladies of Syon in the prayers of their house.[3]

As appears to have been the case at Robertsbridge in the century after the first arrangement of its muniments,[4] the standards set by some early Treasuress of Syon were not always maintained. Deeds tended to stray into wrong boxes, like the St. Michael's Mount grant with the sign for Otterton.[5] Moreover, the strictly topographical scheme was not followed: former Séez property in six different counties was indiscriminately included under one sign, largely, it is assumed, because the deeds were few in number. Similarly, the division of Lancaster priory deeds was purely arbitrary, presumably on account of the size of the collection, so that writings relating to Lancaster or Poulton-le-Fylde can be found in both. Equally, several deeds were never endorsed with a press-mark at all, although they clearly referred to estates which had come into the hands of Syon.[6] Such deficiencies were inevitable, and would not seriously impair the validity of the system as a whole. In general, the care and attention lavished on the libraries at Syon were also reflected in the abbey's muniment collection.

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After little more than a century of existence, Syon abbey was surrendered to the Crown in November 1539.[7] The buildings and their contents, together with lands valued at over £1,730, came under the care of the Court

[1] P.R.O., E 326/6421, 6427–8, 6432, 6830; E 315/41/76, 45/324, 48/143; these cover the years 1428–34. Kene had been appointed on 28 Nov. 1407 (P.R.O., Duchy of Cornwall Records (E 306), 11/5).

[2] P.R.O., E 326/5888, 6373, 6403, 6426, 6451; E 315/46/36, 52/24: E 326/9403; E 315/48/140, 272, 315, 52/51, 106.

[3] P.R.O., E 315/39/25.

[4] Hist. MSS. Comm., *De L'Isle and Dudley MSS.*, i, pp. xii–xix.

[5] P.R.O., E 315/37/1.

[6] E.g. P.R.O., E 315/38/1 (the rectories of Throwley, Chilham and Molash); E 326/9380 (Bradpole).

[7] *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xiv. ii. 206.

of Augmentations.[1] The community, moving to the Continent, managed to take with them a few of their valued possessions, including their magnificent cope, their Martyrology and some other books, but most of their precious belongings, including their valuable libraries, were scattered.[2] The muniments did not immediately suffer the same fate, for while the abbey lands were leased by the Crown to various tenants, the deeds remained in custody as evidence of the Crown's title. By far the greatest number of them still remain, with other monastic deeds, in the custody of the successor of the Court of Augmentations, though their habitat, for long in St. Margaret's Lane, near New Palace Yard, was by no means settled until they were transferred to the Public Record Office in 1856–7.[3] So, from 1793 until 1843 they were housed in the Stone Tower near Westminster Hall. The great fire which destroyed the Palace of Westminster in the latter year occasioned their immediate transfer to St. Margaret's Church, from which they were removed to the former riding-stables of Carlton House in 1843. Successive keepers reported on their generally good condition, though one of these keepers, John Caley, 'probably contributed more to the deplorable neglect of the Augmentations Office than did all of his predecessors put together.'[4] The final removal of these records to Chancery Lane preserved well over 400 ministers' accounts relating to Syon property, at least forty court rolls and several rentals, custumals and the like, besides a very considerable number of title deeds, well scattered now as the result of attempts at rational arrangement.[5]

In the decades following the dissolution of the monasteries, Crown policy concerning monastic property changed. Lands were gradually sold instead of leased, and the new owners, requiring evidence of their title, needed the relevant deeds. Some muniments, therefore, again changed hands, for they were not regarded as 'public records' in the modern sense of the term. The records of a prerogative court, they were disposable in a way not conceived in the older departments of government. Even so, great care was taken that the court retained large quantities of the records of any estate, only delivering to the new owner such material as he would require to establish his rights therein. The care with which these muniments were described and their delivery duly warranted shows that these were no accidental escapes, but carefully considered acts of policy. The schedules of transfer are of con-

[1] *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Record Comm., 1810), i. 428.

[2] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (1941), pp. 102–3; the Martyrology is Brit. Mus., Additional MS. 22285, and has been printed by F. Proctor and E. S. Dewick (Henry Bradshaw Soc., xxvi). See also M. Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery* (Cambridge, 1898) and R. J. Whitewell, 'An ordinance for Syon library', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxv (1910), 121–3. The cope is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[3] W. C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations, 1536–54* (Louisiana State University, 1961), pp. 477–80.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 481.

[5] They are now found in 'Court Rolls', 'Ministers' Accounts', 'Rentals and Surveys', 'Miscellaneous Charters' and 'Ancient Deeds' (Augmentations).

siderable use in revealing more about the muniments of several foundations, and in seeing collections once again dispersed as the lands reverted to lay hands in the final break-up of monastic property.

Transfers of muniments from the Court of Augmentations were made by a warrant addressed to the keeper of the records. Surviving warrants were signed by several officers, including the clerk of the Pipe, the chancellor of the exchequer or the lord high treasurer.[1] The keeper, as a result, drew up an indenture with the grantee and listed the documents involved. It is not clear how the choice of material was made, though the more recent rolls of account and court proceedings were usually included. Sometimes these schedules were drawn up with unusual care and precision, even to the extent, in one case, of noting whether documents were of paper or parchment and how many membranes made up a roll.[2] The two largest schedules were for St. Michael's Mount and Lancaster. The first recorded the transfer by the keeper, William Minterne, under indenture dated 15 December 1604, to Robert Cecil, Viscount Cranborne, by warrant of the earl of Dorset, lord high treasurer.[3] The records consisted of thirty-five accounts of farmers or receivers at St. Michael's from 1432 to 1451, together with a roll of stipends of the several chaplains there with their allowances; a roll of payments made by the archpriest from 1437 to 1532; a roll of corrodies for 1433–4; a copy of a deed of 1466–7; and acquittances, bills of expenses and a roll of ornaments remaining at the Mount. The records transferred to Robert Dalton, esquire, in May 1618, were mostly title deeds to property formerly held by Lancaster priory.[4] There were four views of account (1452–61), a rental (1355–6) and three court rolls of Henry VIII's reign; but these were insignificant compared with some 105 other items, mostly leases and unspecified deeds but including an indenture of 1340, an inquisition of 1313–14, undated letters patent confirming the rights of Lancaster, and an indenture of 1479 concerning the aisle of the priory church, built by the people of the town. These two schedules are by far the most interesting; but something like fifty more deeds and rolls migrated in this way. Thus, Sir Edward Philipps received deeds and accounts for the parsonage of Yeovil in 1609–10, Lord Windsor a rental and thirty-three court rolls of Minchinhampton, and George Leycester twenty court rolls of Hinton Uphall in 1596.[5] Other official transfers may well have been made, the schedules for which have been lost.

Unofficial migrations also inevitably took place for a variety of reasons, the results of which can often be traced. Dugdale noted 'several Receivers'

[1] P.R.O., Augmentations, Warrants for the Delivery of Records (E 324) 29, 53, 61.
[2] P.R.O., E 324/53, 61.
[3] P.R.O., E 324/53.
[4] P.R.O., E 324/73.
[5] P.R.O., E 324/2, 41, 61; others relating to Syon lands are nos. 55 (Hinton Uphall), 57 (Atherington), 64 (Slaughter) and 72 (Littlehampton and Toddington). Some court rolls and accounts of Slaughter are now in the Gloucestershire Record Office; I owe this information to Dr. R. A. Griffiths.

Accompts in the Chapter House at Westminster'.[1] Tanner gives a more interesting insight into the situation in the next century.[2] Charles, duke of Somerset, possessed charters, rentals and accounts, possibly relating to the Fishbourne estates which had been granted to Northumberland and had descended to him through his wife.[3] Peter le Neve, Norroy King of Arms and keeper of the Chapter House records, had a 'roll of Letters Patent of the Liberties of Syon', probably one of the many manuscripts which, as was his habit, he took home for 'private information'.[4] No specific trace of this roll can be found in the sale catalogue of his library, drawn up after his death in 1731, but several items sold then were monastic manuscripts.[5] Now, more than 200 years after Tanner, two bonds are to be found in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum; an indenture is among the Campbell Charters there; and an account roll is among the Additional Charters.[6] The two cartularies which Syon possessed, from Lancaster and St. Michael's Mount, are in the British Museum and at Hatfield respectively. The duke of Northumberland still retains court rolls of the manor of Isleworth.[7]

The records of the great house of Syon thus returned, with the lands they represented, to lay hands after a period of some three centuries. As muniments in monastic hands, they had been the object of great care and attention, reflecting the value placed on them as titles to property. They had been the object, too, of detailed organization both for safe storage and easy reference. Passing into the hands of the Crown, most were still cared for in some fashion, while others became gradually dispersed. Many more must have been lost, but their partial reconstruction has added something, not only to the history of a great monastic foundation, but also to the history of archive administration.

ROBERT DUNNING

[1] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edd. Caley, Ellis and Bandinel (1830), VI. i. 541.

[2] Tanner, pp. 324–5.

[3] She was the daughter and heir of the fifth earl (G.E.C., XII. i. 78).

[4] N. J. Williams, 'The work of Peter le Neve at Chapter House, Westminster', *Jour. Soc. Archivists*, i (1955–9), 125–31.

[5] *A Catalogue of the Valuable Library collected by . . . Peter Le Neve . . . sold by John Wilcox*, 22 Feb. 1731.

[6] Brit. Mus., Harley Charters 75.G.10; 80.H.22; Lord Frederick Campbell Charters xiv. 25; Additional Charters 27209.

[7] Hist. MSS. Comm., *6th Rept.* (1877), app., pp. 232–3.

Dame Lillian Penson, 1896–1963

WHEN SOME future Rashdall comes to write the history of the University of London in the twentieth century one of the most important figures in that history will be Dame Lillian Penson, who died on 17 April 1963. She will be remembered not only as the University's first woman Vice-Chancellor, but as one occupying a significant position in her own right in many regions of higher education. Among those regions the Institute of Historical Research will occupy a place.

For over thirty years Dame Lillian was closely connected with the affairs of the Institute, having joined its Committee in June 1930. From that time onward she took the deepest interest in all aspects of its work, being its invaluable champion within the higher councils of the University. The administrative problems of the Institute were not the sole objects of her care for it. For many years she held a seminar there on Monday afternoon in the International Relations room, which she continued to conduct even when fully occupied with her Vice-Cancellarial duties.

Sometimes somewhat formidable to her peers her real kindness and sympathy could be most clearly seen when dealing with students. For many years she sat in a committee of the Institute which interviews the candidates for its Research Fellowships, and those who were present at its meetings will remember how skilfully she would put the candidate at ease and at the same time ask just the right question to elicit a clear impression of his or her capabilities.

Others will write more fully of Dame Lillian's place in the history of education, but the Institute of Historical Research will cherish long the memory of a great and most loyal friend.

Historical News

A FIRST CIRCULAR (see below) has been issued about the Twelfth International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Vienna from 29 August to 2 September 1965. Some changes in organization have been made from previous congresses of the same kind. This one will be divided into four sections, listed as: (1) *Grands Thèmes*; (2) *Histoire des Continents*; (3) *Commissions*; (4) *Méthodes et Histoire Chronologique*.

In each section there will be *rapports* prepared by historians of various countries in collaboration and printed in time for the opening of the congress. By a happy coincidence the meetings will be held in Vienna during the 150th anniversary of the famous Congress of 1815 and one of the *Grands Thèmes* will be appropriately devoted to the state of the world in that year.

The second section is also concerned with wide subjects, such as *Décolonisation*. In Section 3 there will be discussion of *rapports* from fourteen International Commissions on Byzantine Studies, Slav Studies, Comparative Ecclesiastical History, Economic History, Legal History, Parliamentary History, etc. The fourth section telescopes what has hitherto been the main content of these conferences. The following categories reappear: (i) Methodology, General History and Historiography; (ii) Antiquity; (iii) The Middle Ages; (iv) Modern and Contemporary History.

Apparently no papers will be read in any of the sections, unless there are 'prepared interventions'. There will, however, be several general lectures at the opening and close of the conference. A second circular giving the detailed programme will be issued in the autumn of 1964. British historians who wish to receive information and registration forms for the Congress are asked to communicate with the Honorary Secretary, British National Committee, c/o Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London, W.C.1.

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The latest issue of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, volume XXIX (Paris, Armand Colin, 1962) deals with books and articles published in 1960, with some additions for previous years. It has been prepared from contributions sent in by national committees affiliated to the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Highly selective though it is the Bibliography is a valuable tool, particularly to those scholars who are unable to use large libraries containing specialized bibliographies.

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Programmes and registration forms for the short Anglo-American Conference of Historians to be held in London from Thursday, 9 July, to Saturday, 11 July 1964, may be obtained from the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London, W.C.1. The forms should be returned to reach him by 30 June.

Summaries of Theses

248. *The Estates of the Clare Family, 1066–1317.* By JENNIFER C. WARD, Ph.D.

THE CLARE FAMILY was one of the most powerful noble houses in England in the early Middle Ages. This thesis is limited to a study of the eldest branch, founded by Richard son of Count Gilbert of Brionne, a distant cousin of William the Conqueror. Richard's great-grandson, Gilbert II, was created earl of Hertford in Stephen's reign, and in 1217 the family inherited the earldom of Gloucester. The line came to an end after nearly two hundred and fifty years when Gilbert V was killed at Bannockburn. The thesis examines the various estates in England, Wales and Ireland which formed the basis of the Clares' political power, and which provided an income of over £6,500 a year in 1314. Throughout its history, the family was prominent in politics; in particular, it held the balance between the royal and baronial sides in the Barons' War of 1258–65. Few such family studies exist for the early Middle Ages. During this period, continuous series of estate documents are lacking, but enough material is available to make a detailed study of the administration of the honour of Clare in East Anglia. The long history of the family makes it possible to compare the estates in the golden age of feudalism and at the beginning of the age of bastard feudalism. Moreover, in the thirteenth century, a striking contrast can be drawn between the earl's position in England, and in Wales; whilst possessing few extraordinary powers in England, he was practically an independent potentate in south Wales.

After the Norman Conquest, Richard son of Count Gilbert of Brionne was granted the two honours of Tonbridge and Clare with lands in south-east England and East Anglia. The honour of Tonbridge appears to have been obtained soon after the Conquest; Tonbridge itself was most probably usurped by Richard, and subsequently recovered by the archbishop of Canterbury of whom it was held in the thirteenth century. Clare was much the wealthier of the two honours. It was acquired from two predecessors, Wisgar son of Aelfric, an Essex thegn, and Phin the Dane, both of whom continued to hold their lands after the Conquest. The lands comprised several highly valuable manors, and, at the other end of the scale, numerous smallholdings of freemen and sokemen. By 1086, between one-third and one-half of all Richard's land had been sub-infeudated, and several sub-tenants came from the neighbourhood of Orbec and Bienfaite in Normandy, the two castles held by Richard before the Conquest.

In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these lands were increased considerably, particularly by the acquisition of half the honour of Giffard in 1189, the honour of Gloucester, including the lordship of Glamorgan, in 1217, and one-fifth of the Marshal lands in 1247 and 1275. It is significant that all these major acquisitions were made by marriage and inheritance, and were not a direct gift from the king. On various occasions, the monarch made grants to younger sons of the family, as when Edward I gave Thomond in Ireland

to Thomas de Clare, but, apart from the grants by William I, the only royal gift to the eldest line was made by Edward II to the last earl, Gilbert V, and comprised four manors in Norfolk and Suffolk.

The organization of the honour of Clare can be traced mainly in twelfth-century charters and cartularies and early fourteenth-century ministers' accounts and court rolls. As on other noble estates, there was a hierarchy of officials headed by the steward, and the administration became more bureaucratic in the thirteenth century. Whereas the Clare officials in the twelfth century had predominantly local interests, in the thirteenth century they were professional careerists, noteworthy for their administrative experience with the king and other lords. This contrast emerges clearly in the office of steward. In the twelfth century, he was often one of the honorial baronage—the group representing the most important sub-tenants—and his administrative responsibilities were very wide; he was not yet primarily a judicial official. Soon after 1200, the stewards began to take office under the Crown, and in the later thirteenth century they were men with legal experience who had previously been in royal service and who returned to it after a few years; service at Clare was not regarded as a stepping-stone to a position at court. By this time their main duties were judicial; in particular, they acted as president of the honour court at Clare. They were not as powerful as they had been in the twelfth century, for they were now supervised by the earl's council and by the auditors.

Most of the earl's income was derived from his demesne manors. Two manors were let at farm in 1086, and Richard son of Count Gilbert had been leasing them at extortionate rates. In the thirteenth century, the demesne manors were directly exploited by the earls, and, from about 1250, they pursued a policy of expansion, acquiring numerous small parcels of land to add to their demesne manors. Rents were also purchased; they formed a valuable source of income in the thirteenth century, although they were to become much more important in the next hundred years. The policy of expansion was most marked in the time of Gilbert IV (1262–95) when it is clear that the earl was eager to expand his possessions in every possible way.

By the early fourteenth century when the Clare court rolls begin, the relations between the earl and his sub-tenants had become impersonal, and the scales of tenure had become vastly complicated. Personal military service was no longer performed by the sub-tenants, and other feudal obligations had lost their meaning. There are indications that the earl's loss of control over his vassals had begun before 1200 and had continued in the thirteenth century. Yet, on the surface, the honour court at Clare in the early fourteenth century remained active and busy. It met every three weeks, and was attended by military tenants and freeholders. There was comparatively little purely feudal business; cases of debt, detinue, and trespass, with damages amounting to less than forty shillings, were most common. It is significant however that it was mainly the smaller tenants who brought cases before the honour court. The major sub-tenants—the descendants of the twelfth-century honorial barons—generally paid fines for respite of suit, and often for respite of homage, and the earl found it difficult to compel them to pay relief; quite apart from the loss of custodies due to the royal right of prerogative wardship, several sub-tenants were succeeding in avoiding wardship altogether through their use of joint and collusive enfeoffments. Forinsec courts of the honour were established in Norfolk, some during the Barons' Wars. These courts had no regular suitors, but they supplemented

the work of the honour court, and were probably designed to strengthen its authority.

Because of the detailed evidence in the Hundred Rolls and the Placita de Quo Warranto, it has been possible to study the franchises on all the earl's English estates. In the early twelfth century, the Clares only had the franchises of sake and soke, toll and team, and infangentheof, which gave them none of the higher powers of jurisdiction. It was not until the mid-thirteenth century that they attempted to acquire franchises on a wide scale. During the Barons' Wars of 1258–65, Earls Richard IV and Gilbert IV usurped views of frankpledge, and, to a lesser extent, the higher franchises of pleas of withername and return of writs; in certain counties, franchises were appropriated on practically all the earl's holdings. Most were however regained by Edward I.

In contrast, the franchises of the small area round Tonbridge in Kent, known as the *banlieu*, were both more ancient and more valuable than the earl's other privileges. The king's itinerant justices held a special session at Tonbridge; this franchise dates at least from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and Edward I did not succeed in putting an end to it. The earl collected and kept all the issues of the eyre, and royal officials were completely excluded from the *banlieu*. Moreover, the earl had his own coroner, first mentioned in 1255 but certainly existing earlier; this office however lapsed as a result of the *quo warranto* proceedings.

The franchises of Tonbridge, considerable though they were, fade into insignificance beside the earl's privileges as a Marcher baron. In the thirteenth century, the Clares, as lords of Glamorgan and a large part of Monmouth, derived a considerable part of their income from Wales. Their lands here were far more vulnerable than those in England, but the effects of raids and rebellions appear to have been only temporary. It took the Clares a considerable time to make themselves supreme in their lands, and it was only after Senghenydd had been confiscated from its Welsh lord, and Caerphilly castle built in 1271, that they were secure from invasion. The Welsh commotes were retained as administrative districts, and no attempt was made to abolish Welsh custom. The most important official was the sheriff of Glamorgan, and, unlike the English officials in the thirteenth century, he generally came from a local family, and rarely passed into the royal administration. The earls valued their Welsh lands as much for the independent status they conferred as for their income, and they frequently acted as independent princes. Yet, throughout the thirteenth century, they were having to defend their franchises against Henry III and Edward I. The notorious quarrel with the earl of Hereford in 1290–1 was only the climax of a long series of attempts by the English Crown to break down Marcher privilege. Edward I's triumph was short-lived; in 1318, his son restored to Hugh le Despenser the younger, husband of one of the Clare heiresses, all the Marcher privileges in Glamorgan.

The thesis concludes with appendices on the lands held by the family in 1314, its private hundreds and advowsons, and a list of officials of the various honours. After Gilbert V fell at Bannockburn, his inheritance provided the basis for the political power of other families. Of his three sisters and coheiresses, Eleanor's share remained with the Despensers, Margaret's passed into the Stafford family, and Elizabeth's lands were inherited by her granddaughter, the wife of Lionel, duke of Clarence, whence they passed into the Mortimer family. The Clare estates, built up over two hundred and fifty years, lost forever their separate identity.

MS. Sources

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British Museum

Additional and Harleian Charters; Additional MS. 6041; Cotton MS. Appendix xxi; Harley MS. 1240.

249. *George Villiers, British Ambassador at Madrid (1835–8), with Special Reference to Anglo-French Relations and the British Auxiliary Legion.* By J. S. LEEMING, Ph.D.

AFTER THE British government, acting in the spirit of the Quadruple Treaty and its Additional Articles, had authorized, in June 1835, the Spanish government to recruit a legion of British volunteers for service against Don Carlos, the Pretender to the Spanish throne, George Villiers, the ambitious and energetic British ambassador at Madrid, took advantage of the gratitude of the Spanish government for British assistance to promote his country's interests. In order to increase British influence in Spain, he interfered in Spanish politics to aid the ministerial aspirations of the anglophil Mendizabal, the leader of the Extreme Liberal party, made repeated attempts to conclude a commercial treaty which, by expanding Anglo-Spanish trade, would closely link Spain's economy to that of Great Britain, and used the participation of the British Auxiliary Legion in the civil war as an excuse for bombarding successive Spanish administrations with advice concerning the military situation.

The expansion of British influence was not, however, Villiers's only preoccupation in Spain. He had a genuine enthusiasm for the liberal cause there. This enthusiasm prompted him to do his utmost to make the British Auxiliary Legion—a form of British assistance which he disliked and with whose commander he soon quarrelled—into an effective military force. It also prompted him to press the British and French governments to accomplish the aims of the Quadruple Treaty by sending regular troops to Spain.

Villiers's persistent demands for foreign intervention, his close relations with the Extreme Liberals, and his endeavours to advance British interests offended the French, who regarded Spain as a country in which their influence should predominate. Their opposition to his demands increased, particularly towards the end of 1836, because they believed him to have been implicated in a mutiny which had brought about the resignation of a Spanish government favourable to French influence and because he quarrelled with De la Tour Maubourg, the French ambassador at Madrid.

Eventually, Molé, the President of the French Council of Ministers, urged Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, to help to restore Anglo-French cordiality in Spain. But Palmerston distrusted Molé and the *entente*, although sporadically revived, never fulfilled the expectations of Palmerston and Louis Philippe, who had regarded it as the cornerstone of their foreign policies.

For the failure of the *entente*, Villiers was partly though not entirely responsible. This thesis seeks to show how his conduct in Spain aroused French

hostility. It also attempts to show how his reports from Spain prejudiced Palmerston against the French government and how they therefore played an important role indirectly in the formulation of British policy.

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Bourqueney Papers: Fonds France, 1899 (1836)

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A. ACCESSIONS

THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Department of Manuscripts

Historical and literary MSS.[1] incorporated into the collections during 1963 include:

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Transcripts of rolls of arms by William Wyrley, Rouge Croix Pursuivant; 1592 (Add. MS. 51047).

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Maps of the manor of Woodstock, co. Kildare, by John Rocque; 1756 (Add. MS. 52293).

Letters addressed to Thomas Pennant, naturalist; 1760–98 (Add. MS. 52274).

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Genealogy of the Lancashire family of Bradshaw; *c.* 1855 (Add. MS. 51022).

[1] The inclusion of a MS. in this list does not necessarily imply that it is available for study: some time must elapse before unbound papers can be arranged and bound, and some MSS. may be reserved from public use.

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M. A. F. BORRIE

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A detailed list of historical manuscripts recently acquired by local and other repositories will be found in Historical Manuscripts Commission, National Register of Archives, *List of Accessions to Repositories in 1962* (London, H.M.S.O., 1963).

B. MIGRATIONS

[The following is a select list of historical MSS. recently offered for sale by booksellers or auctioneers. References to booksellers' catalogues are by name, number of catalogue, page and number, to auctioneers' catalogues by name, date of first day of sale, and number of lot.]

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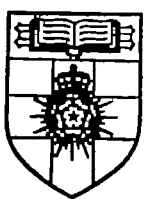
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BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF
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The Authorization of Letters under the Great Seal

DURING THE REIGN of Edward I the officials of chancery began the practice of noting regularly on letters issuing under the great seal and on the copies of them entered on the rolls of chancery a record of the authority on which they acted.[1] For example, if the chancellor was ordered by a writ under the privy seal to issue a letter, the resulting letter and its enrolment would be endorsed with the words, or, as it is convenient to call them, the 'note of warranty', 'per breve de privato sigillo', and other types of order were recorded by other appropriate phrases. These notes of warranty could be a valuable guide to the working of later medieval government—if it could be shown that they were accurately recorded in chancery, and if their precise meaning could be demonstrated. For example, if the note of warranty 'per ipsum regem' truly represents a decision taken by the king personally, and 'per consilium' a decision taken by the council, then the relative shares of the king and his council in ordering the issue of some of the most important letters under the great seal could be reconstructed. In fact, the interpretation of the evidence is more complicated, but there is here a great deal of easily accessible evidence which has never received the scrutiny that it merits. Notes of warranty and the whole work of chancery have been discussed and illustrated with a wealth of examples by Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte,[2] but inevitably in a book which ranges up to modern times they are examined only in general terms; Professor Wilkinson has examined more briefly the authorizations of Edward III's reign, in particular those of 1341[3]; but no detailed study of the subject has been made. The object of this article is to discuss the reliability and the meaning of these notes of warranty in some detail in one short period, the sixth year of Henry IV's reign, from 30 September 1404 until 29 September 1405.

A restricted period has been chosen because the number of letters issuing

[1] I am indebted to Mr. K. B. McFarlane and to Dr. R. L. Storey for their advice and criticism.

[2] H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England* (1926).

[3] B. Wilkinson, 'The authorization of chancery writs under Edward III', *Bull. John Rylands Lib.*, viii (1924). Professor Wilkinson discusses notes of warranty also in *The Chancery under Edward III* (Manchester, 1929) and in his chapter on chancery in *The English Government at Work, 1327–1336*, ed. Willard, Morris, and Dunham, i (Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

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under the great seal was so large that it is practicable to make a detailed study in a short period only; in this one year more than 2,500 letters with notes of warranty are entered on the chancery rolls. This particular year has been chosen because one part of the evidence survives more abundantly from it than from any other year in the middle ages. It would be possible to make an analysis of the notes of warranty on the chancery rolls for any year in the later middle ages. Most of the work could be done in a library using the printed texts and calendars of the rolls, and this would yield some useful general conclusions. But it would be a first step only, because considerable numbers of the warrants which ordered the letters on the rolls still survive in the archives of chancery, and in many cases it is possible to compare the warrant with the resulting letter and so test the accuracy of the note of warranty and find out something of the history of the transaction. In most years, however, there is one great limitation to this method. The type of warrant which survives most completely and abundantly is the privy-seal writ, but this is a formal document which normally adds nothing to what can be known from the resulting letter under the great seal. In most cases before 1440 the date and the text of the writ were followed by the chancery clerks when they prepared the letter. To discover more about the transaction it must be traced back a stage further, and the warrant ordering the issue of the privy-seal writ itself must be found. Normally, however, this is not possible because the bulk of the records of the privy-seal office, going back at least to 1386, were destroyed in the fire at the Banqueting House at Whitehall in 1619. Fortunately some files were rescued from the fire and the contents, after further vicissitudes, came to the Public Record Office where they survive in various collections, principally in Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Council and Privy Seal (E 28) and Privy Seal Office, Warrants for the Privy Seal (P.S.O. 1).[1] But these are only chance survivals, numerous for a few short periods and a few subjects, but for most periods very incomplete. The period for which they survive most completely is the ten months from October 1404 to August 1405, or the greater part of the sixth year of Henry IV's reign, and this is why this year has been chosen for examination. In this one year it is possible to build up a reasonably complete picture of how letters with a note of warranty came to be issued from chancery—and in this one sphere, at this one period, to show how government 'worked'.

The most important source of evidence for this subject is the chancery rolls, and in this year letters under the great seal were enrolled on eleven types of roll—the Charter, Close, Exchange, Fine, Gascon, Pardon, Patent, Redisseisin, Scotch, and Treaty (or French) rolls, and on a *Rotulus Viagii*.[2]

[1] These will be cited as 'Council and Privy Seal' and 'Warrants for the Privy Seal'. A more detailed account of the history of these archives is given in Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 27–32. All the manuscripts cited in this article are in the Public Record Office.

[2] The *Rotulus Viagii* is a roll of letters sealed with a second great seal and issued by a group of chancery clerks who accompanied Henry IV on a number of his journeys in England while chancery continued to function elsewhere with the first great seal. The roll for the sixth year is calendared in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, pp. 65–79; it

In most years a twelfth roll, the *Liberate* roll, would have to be added, but there are no entries on this roll for this year. Letters with notes of warranty —more than 2,500 of them—are found on all these rolls except the Redisseisin roll. The most common notes of warranty are 'per breve de privato sigillo' (abbreviated as 'By p.s.' in the printed calendars of the rolls), 'per billam de privato sigillo' ('By bill of p.s.'), 'per ipsum regem' ('By K'), 'per consilium' ('By C'), and 'per ipsum regem et consilium' ('By K & C'). Some letters are said to have been ordered by bills from the treasurer, the treasurer of the household, or the chief butler—it is convenient to describe the warrants from these officers collectively as 'ministers' warrants'. And there are a few less common notes of warranty which must be considered individually. The distribution of all these notes of warranty on the rolls is set out in a table at the end of this article.

The plan of the article is to consider first and briefly the letters warranted by bills, either bills from ministers or bills of privy seal, which fall into well-defined classes and are mostly of a routine character. Letters warranted 'By p.s.' and 'By K' are the most numerous, and the greater part of the article will be devoted to them. They might result from orders transmitted in a variety of ways, but most seem to have been ordered by the king himself, many after a petition had been presented to him. It is not difficult to find out how they came to be issued, but there is a fundamental problem here to which it must be admitted no completely satisfactory answer has been found. There are letters of the same kind, the result of petitions, ordered by the king himself, some warranted 'By p.s.' and some 'By K', and there is no evident reason why one procedure was used rather than the other. The warrants from the council are straightforward; it is a matter of determining whether the notes of warranty 'By C' and 'By K & C' mean what they say, and, as this can be proved, of determining the classes of business handled by the council alone or by the king with the assistance of his council. And finally there are a few less common notes of warranty to be considered.

There are 186 letters on the rolls of this year said to be ordered by ministers' warrants—ten 'By bill of the treasurer of the household', two 'By bill of the butler', and 174 'By bill of the treasurer'; and there seems no reason to refuse to accept these notes of warranty at their face value.[1] The first two groups are routine letters, writs of aid for buyers for the household or commissions to take goods necessary for the use of the household, and writs *de intendendo* for deputies that the chief butler had appointed in the

contains letters of May, June and July 1405 which normally would have been enrolled on the Patent or Close rolls. See Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 313 and 394 and A. B. and A. Wyon, *The Great Seals of England* (1887).

[1] In addition there are thirty letters in favour of household officials on the Patent roll which have no note of warranty though they are of a type normally ordered by the treasurer of the household. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, pp. 461–2 and 513. Normally when a letter is enrolled without a note of warranty this means that it has been issued on the authority of the chancellor alone, but in this and some other cases the omission may simply be carelessness on the part of the clerks.

ports. There are letters like these, warranted in the same way, on the rolls every year; and among the files of warrants to chancery there are a few bundles of the original warrants that ordered them.[1] These warrants are either bills proper, simple brief requests for a letter to be issued under the great seal, beginning without any formal address—'Soient commissions faitz', for example—normally undated, and sealed with the seal of the treasurer of the household or the chief butler applied to the face of the bill, or much less frequently they are out-of-date original letters-patent endorsed with a request that they be renewed in the same form. Because the matters are common form, and because the same names recur and the warrants are undated, it is often difficult to marry with certainty the warrant with the resulting letter-patent; but warrants can be traced for the majority though not for all the letters—in this year for possibly eight of these twelve letters. The letters warranted by bills from the treasurer are much more numerous and much more miscellaneous. They commission collectors and controllers of customs and subsidies, and tronagers; grant custody of lands in the king's hands because of forfeiture, minority, or other reasons; and give effect to a few other decisions known to have been exchequer matters. These are not simply domestic departmental matters like those in the letters ordered by the treasurer of the household and the chief butler, and they deserve examination, but this like so much else must await an historian of the exchequer. For the present purpose it is sufficient to say that there is no reason to doubt the notes of warranty. These are consistently exchequer matters, and bills—again simple, brief, undated documents—survive for the majority, though apparently not for all the letters.[2]

The letters warranted 'per billam de privato sigillo' are almost all of one kind; all but ten of the 167 on the rolls of this year are letters of protection with the clause *volumus*.[3] They take a man and his possessions into the king's protection and free him from pleas, with specified exceptions, for a defined period, often a year, while he is on the king's service in a garrison or on a campaign or at sea, or while he is on a diplomatic mission. They are entered on the rolls according to where this service is to be rendered; on the Gascon roll for service in Gascony; on the Patent roll for service in Wales, Ireland,

[1] The original bills are filed in the collection Chancery, Warrants for the Great Seal (C 81), hereafter cited as 'Chancery Warrants'. Bills from the chief butler are in files 1645–6, and those from the treasurer of the household in files 1650 and 1655. Ministers' warrants are discussed in Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 200–10.

[2] Bills from the treasurer are filed alphabetically in Chancery Warrants, files 1549–1611 for the period Edw. I–Hen. VI, and only a sample has been examined for this study.

[3] This total excludes two letters warranted 'By bill of p.s.'; a commission to a controller of customs in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 463, which clearly should be warranted 'By bill of the treasurer'; and a protection for John Kent on the Treaty roll (C 76/88, m.1) vacated because it was entered correctly on the Gascon roll (C 61/110, m.1). But it includes a protection with the note of warranty 'per litteram de privato sigillo' in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 498, which was ordered by a perfectly normal privy-seal bill. Chancery Warrants, file 1099, no. 1.

and the Isle of Man; on the Scotch roll for service on the Scottish March and on the Treaty roll for service in Calais or its March, at sea, and for those going overseas on diplomatic missions. In each of these 157 cases a privy-seal bill ordering the issue of the letter of protection still survives in the files of chancery warrants, though several letters are sometimes ordered by one bill. Bill and letter do not always correspond exactly. Chancery occasionally made mistakes; in this year, for example, a protection ordered by a privy-seal bill was enrolled without any note of warranty, and an entry warranted 'per billam de privato sigillo' should clearly be warranted 'per billam thesaurarii'.[1] Mistakes like these are not uncommon with all types of warrant. There are also cases where the warrant did not lead to an enrolment; for example, seven privy-seal bills ordering letters of protection did not lead to entries on the rolls. Perhaps this was an oversight; perhaps the recipient failed to pay to have his letter enrolled; or the letter may never have been issued either because the recipient failed to sue for it or because he was refused it. Normally it is impossible to determine which of these explanations is the true one. It is not worth while detailing all these exceptions, but it is important to remember that the chancery rolls do not contain enrolments of all the letters that were issued and that they are not completely accurate.

These privy-seal bills are the simplest type of document that issued from the privy-seal office.[2] They begin without any formal address 'Fiat protectio cum clausula volumus', but they have a full dating-clause giving the time and place date and the regnal year, and they are sealed with the privy seal applied to the face of the bill. As usual there are exceptions,[3] but normally the resulting letter of protection under the great seal has the same time and place date as the bill which ordered it—the normal chancery practice at this time when it received any privy-seal warrant[4]—so the bills add nothing to what can be known from the letters. The story can, however, be traced further in the privy-seal archives. There are a few files of warrants for protections in the series Warrants for the Privy Seal[5] and by a fortunate chance a block of warrants has survived for the sixth year of Henry IV's

[1] The protection for Sir Stephen Lescrope in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 493, was ordered by Chancery Warrants, file 1098, no. 41, but has no note of warranty; the other exception is cited in the last footnote.

[2] The original privy-seal bills are filed in Chancery Warrants, files 1098–1100. Examples are printed in E. Déprez, *Etudes de Diplomatique Anglaise* (Paris, 1908), pp. 57–64.

[3] For example, the protection for Sir Richard Arundell in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 473, is dated 6 Dec. though the bill ordering it is dated 5 Dec. Chancery Warrants, file 1098, no. 23. There are three other cases like this. These may be mistakes or there may have been some special reason for varying the date.

[4] This remained true until 1440 when it was provided by statute, 18 Hen. VI, c. 1, that letters should bear the date the warrant was delivered in chancery and no earlier. After this a few letters had the same date as the warrant which ordered them, but the great majority were dated days, weeks, and, in surprisingly many cases, months after the date of the warrant.

[5] Warrants for the Privy Seal, files 65–71, for the period Edw. III–Hen. VIII.

reign. The last file in the Council and Privy Seal series, file 95, contains documents badly mutilated by fire, presumably the fire of 1619 which destroyed most of the office archives. Many are merely charred fragments, wholly illegible, but others can be read in part, and some forty can be identified as warrants to the keeper of the privy seal for protections, dating from spring and summer 1405—perhaps an original file in the office archives. The warrants are themselves bills beginning 'Fiat protectio' with a seal applied to the face. They are very like the resulting privy-seal bills in appearance, but they have no dating-clause which means that the date on a privy-seal bill and on the resulting letter of protection was given in the privy-seal office, probably the date on which the privy-seal bill was written. These bills were sent to the keeper of the privy seal by military commanders on behalf of the men under their command—by the prince of Wales as the king's lieutenant there; by Thomas of Lancaster as steward, admiral, and lieutenant in Ireland; by John, earl of Somerset, as captain of Calais; by Sir Thomas Beaufort, as keeper of Carmarthen; and by other local commanders. In at least one case, that of William Fynbarowe, marshal of the King's Bench, who was going with the king himself to Wales, the warrant was a bill under the king's signet, and in two cases, again where the service was directly to the king, the warrant was a signet letter to the keeper of the privy seal.[1] In these cases the recipient was probably obliged to appeal to the king personally for the warrant as he would have had to do in the case of signet warrants for other types of letter.[2]

There is nothing surprising in this conclusion. Military commanders had been issuing warrants like these for more than a century before Henry IV's reign, but until the thirteen-fifties and thirteen-sixties they had normally sent their bills direct to the chancellor.[3] The privy-seal bill then gradually became more common as a warrant for protections, and by the early fifteenth century it was clearly the 'proper channel' for protections. This interposition of the Privy Seal into the chain of warrants may be just another case of medieval red-tape, but there may have been the justification that as the indentures with military commanders were filed in the privy-seal office it was easier to exercise a check on the abuse of protections from there.[4] There must have been some check because protections were sought after by those anxious to avoid actions in the courts, and the revocations of protections entered on the chancery rolls sometimes tell of the frauds per-

[1] Council and Privy Seal, file 95; and Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 2, nos. 7 and 44 for Sir John Stanley, steward of the household, going with the king to Wales, and for Master Richard Dereham going on the king's business to the Curia.

[2] See below, p. 136.

[3] Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 210–11. These bills to the chancellor are filed in Chancery Warrants, files 1719–56. The first surviving privy-seal bill for a protection belongs to 1352, but there are few until 1359, and then not many again until 1365. Chancery Warrants, files 910 *et seq.*

[4] It is perhaps significant that in 1430 the keeper was given authority to issue warrants for protections to certain people *even though* they were not retained by indenture. Maxwell-Lyte, p. 86.

petrated to obtain them. But there is virtually no evidence to show how this scrutiny was carried out.

Most protections were ordered by privy-seal bills, but there are also a few which were not; in this year there are nine warranted 'per ipsum regem', seven for men serving with the king himself or going on diplomatic missions, and two for men serving under military commanders. It has not been possible to discover how any of these nine letters were ordered, but there is no reason to doubt that the order came from the king himself. They raise the question which constantly arises in this study, why do some orders from the king pass through the privy-seal office while others by-pass it?

The remaining ten letters warranted by bills of privy seal are not protections and have an entirely different history. Three on the Scotch roll are safe-conducts for men to come to England and return; there are six more safe-conducts on the Treaty roll for foreign merchants coming to England or for prisoners in England to return home to arrange for their ransoms; and the tenth is a general licence to trade issued to a foreign merchant and entered on the Treaty roll.[1] All these letters might have been warranted in other ways, and they were probably all obtained by petition to the king himself. Their history is similar to that of letters warranted 'By p.s.' and it is convenient to consider them along with the privy-seal writs.[2]

These letters warranted by bills from royal ministers and by privy-seal bills are almost all of a few specialized kinds, and the way in which they came to be issued is readily understandable. The same cannot be said of the miscellaneous collection of letters warranted 'By p.s.' or 'By K', most of which were ordered by the king himself. It is easiest to begin with the 'By p.s.' entries, letters warranted by privy-seal writs.

In the great majority of cases where a letter is warranted 'By p.s.' the corresponding privy-seal writ can be found among the chancery warrants. In this year a privy-seal writ survives for all but twenty of the 471 letters on the rolls.[3] The writ, however, normally adds nothing to what can be learned from the letter. The chancery clerks took over as much of the text of the writ as they could when they composed the letter, and they gave it the same time and place date. Warrants and letters correspond closely save that most privy-seal writs are in French and most letters under the great seal are in Latin. Latin was used in writs concerning ecclesiastical cases—presentations to churches and prebends, for example; for warrants concerning

[1] *Rotuli Scotiae* (Record Comm.), ii. 174 and Treaty roll (C 76/83), mm. 3, 6, 7, 11, 14, and 15. No corresponding privy-seal bill has been found for two of the letters on the Treaty roll, and in a third the warrant is a privy-seal writ, not a bill.

[2] Below, p. 140.

[3] The privy-seal writs of this year are filed in Chancery Warrants, files 623–8. In one of these 20 cases a direct warrant survives for the letter which clearly should have been warranted 'By K'. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 24, dated 12 June, ordered by Chancery Warrants, file 1404, no. 40. Some of the other cases may be due to errors like this, and some may be due to warrants misfiled under other years in the Public Record Office which I have failed to notice.

inquisitions, taking of homage, and the restoration of seisin; and for writs of *procedendo* and other judicial business. And privy-seal bills for protections, though not for safe-conducts, are in Latin. Latin was used only for these cases, but there was no strict rule and it was not always used. Language apart, however, the warrant and the resulting letter are normally identical in all important respects, and the French warrant was closely translated in drafting the Latin letter. There are, of course, exceptions, where the wrong note of warranty was entered or where the dates of warrant and letter do not agree, but these cases are comparatively few and the general practice is clear.[1] It follows from this that the privy-seal clerks had a major responsibility for drawing up the form of letters warranted 'By p.s.', an onerous responsibility because absolute clarity and accuracy were demanded. No doubt this explains why there are many rejected original privy-seal warrants to the chancellor in the privy-seal office archives.

In these cases chancery merely carried out the instructions contained in the privy-seal warrants, but who ordered the privy-seal warrants? This question has never been considered in detail, but the accepted answer is that the normal warrant to the Privy Seal was a letter under the king's signet.[2] This was certainly not the normal practice in the sixth year of Henry IV's reign, nor, as far as can be judged, in the later fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries. At this period most privy-seal warrants to chancery originated in an order from the king which might be conveyed to the keeper of the privy seal in several ways. Most frequently it came in the form of a petition to the king on which one of the chamberlains had written the king's decision; rather less frequently it came in the form of a signet letter; and in a smaller number of cases it came in the form of an order given directly by the king to the keeper of the privy seal. The figures for this year are that there are 471 letters on the chancery rolls with the note of warranty 'per breve de privato sigillo', and 396 privy-seal writs survive, ordering 451 of these letters. The authority on which the keeper issued 257 of these 396 writs is known. In 133 cases it was a petition or a certificate endorsed by one of the chamberlains; in eighty-one it was a signet letter; and in thirty-two it was a direct order

[1] In 11 cases in this year a privy-seal warrant led to an enrolment which was not warranted 'By p.s.'—in 8 no note of warranty at all was entered, and in 3 it is 'By K'. These appear to be merely mistakes. In 13 cases the dates of the warrant and the resulting letter do not agree. In some cases, again, this seems merely an error. For example, the grant to John Barbour and John Sutton on the Patent roll (C 66/373), m. 12 dated at Ripon on 12 July and without any note of warranty was ordered by a privy-seal warrant dated at Ripon on 12 June. The king was not near Ripon on 12 July, nor was the privy seal, and this seems to be a genuine error. But there are cases where the difference in dating is deliberate. For example, the grant to John Lambe in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, p. 42, dated at Pontefract Castle on 18 July, was ordered by a privy-seal warrant dated at Pontefract Castle on 3 Aug. which ordered the letter to be dated 18 July. Chancery Warrants, file 627, no. 4426.

[2] For example, Maxwell-Lyte, p. 78; V. H. Galbraith, *An Introduction to the Use of the Public Records* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 23–6; and J. Otway-Ruthven, *The King's Secretary and the Signet Office in the XV Century* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 39.

from the king. In eleven cases the history of the warrant is more complicated and these must be considered individually.[1]

The warrants which came directly from the king to the keeper of the privy seal are, outwardly at least, the most straightforward. In two cases the warrant was a petition on which the king himself had written that he had granted it.[2] This is conclusive, though there is no evidence to show how the petition reached the Privy Seal after the king conceded it. In the remaining thirty cases the warrant is a petition or draft warrant on which a privy-seal clerk has written a statement that a privy-seal warrant was made by the king's command. The precise wording of the statement varies but it is difficult not to believe that it means precisely what it says. In some cases the statement is so circumstantial as to leave no doubt. For example, on the petition of the king's esquire Antony Rys asking for the grant of a ship there is the endorsement 'Le xv jour de Janver lan etc. sisme a Merton le roy granta ceste bille et commanda le gardein du prive seal dent faire garant a le chanceller; sur quoi lettre estoit faite a Westmouster lendemain prochein ensuant'.[3] The resulting privy-seal warrant and the letter under the great seal are both dated at Westminster on 16 January 1405. In other cases the statement written by the privy-seal clerk is less explicit. In some it is in the form 'Lettre ent feut fait par commandement du roy a Wyndesore'; in others it is in the even briefer form 'Par le roy de son commandement'. But there is no reason to doubt that in all these cases the command came from the king himself. The number of these cases is comparatively small, which makes it less likely that the endorsements represent a fiction. The dates on which the king is said to have commanded the keeper to make a warrant are in all cases days on which this would have been perfectly possible, and more than half the cases belong to the week between 18 and 24 April when the king was at Windsor for the Garter festivities and the privy-seal office was at Windsor with him.[4] It is possible that some of these

[1] These figures are set out in more detail in Table II below, which shows that the evidence is almost complete for the period March to Aug. 1405, less complete for Oct. to March 1404–5, and very incomplete for Aug. and Sept. 1405. It also shows the different pattern of warrants for the privy seal according as the office was near or far from the king.

[2] Council and Privy Seal, files 14 (4 Apr.) and 17 (19 Jan.). The king has written on these in an unprofessional hand 'H. R. avons grante' and in addition on the first 'sanz fyn'. The documents in the Council and Privy Seal files are not numbered but they are arranged chronologically, and they will therefore be cited by file and by date.

[3] Council and Privy Seal, file 17 (15 Jan.).

[4] Among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum there is a slip of parchment headed 'Remembrance au roi de les peticions desoux escrites', followed by a summary of 8 requests to the king, 7 concerning Gascony, and the eighth seeking a safe-conduct for a Scot to come to England. *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. H. Nicolas (1834–7), i. 253–5. Seven of these requests are known to have been granted, and they led to 6 privy-seal writs and one privy-seal bill dated at Windsor between 20 and 22 Apr.—granting all the requests save that of the sire de Duras. Six of the 7 conceded petitions survive in the privy-seal archives—4 are endorsed with a note of a direct order from the king, the fifth is mutilated, and in the

commands came to the keeper by the hands of intermediaries, but this is less likely because there are cases, though not in this year, where the use of an intermediary is carefully recorded in the endorsement. There is no reason at all to doubt the accuracy of these statements.

The most common type of warrant for the privy seal in the sixth year was the chamberlains' bill. This was a petition to the king on which a sentence like 'Le roy ad grante' or some expanded form of this had been written, almost invariably in the margin above the text of the petition. In the lower margin, below the text, in the same hand as that of the first endorsement, is the name of the chamberlain of England, the king's chamberlain, or an under-chamberlain.[1] On the back of the petition there are normally the traces of a signet seal applied on a cross of wax, but there is no known identifiable example of this seal. In most cases these endorsements are undoubtedly in the hand of the chamberlain whose name appears on the petition. The same unprofessional handwriting appears with the same name which must be a signature. The seal on the back may be either the king's signet or another seal, hitherto unrecorded, the chamberlain's signet, but the evidence is not completely conclusive. A Commons petition of 1389 refers to these bills, that is petitions, 'endosse et enseale desouz le signet', but the royal reply does not mention sealing and implies that bills should be sent directly by one of the chamberlains to the keeper of the privy seal.[2] There is a certain amount of evidence to suggest that the seal was the chamberlain's signet, either a personal or an official seal. This seal is frequently mentioned in Great Wardrobe accounts where it was accepted as a warrant for issues,[3] and two petitioners whose petitions became chamberlains' bills asked specifically for their petitions to be endorsed and sealed by the chamberlain and sent to the Privy Seal.[4] Finally, there are a number of

sixth case a direct order from the king is endorsed on a draft privy-seal warrant. Council and Privy Seal, files 14 and 20. On the back of the 'Remembrance' there are notes of advice offered by the council on Gascon, Scottish, and Flemish affairs, but not on the petitions. On the evidence of the writing it is probable that the 'Remembrance' also was drawn up by the council and that all or most of it was written by the clerk of the council, Robert Frye. It seems that the council considered these petitions and sent them to the king—perhaps by the hands of the keeper of the privy seal who is referred to several times, both before and after this date, as an approved intermediary between king and council. The king granted 7 of these petitions and handed at least 5, probably all, to the keeper to issue warrants. Was this a common practice, and was this the way all warrants like these originated? Probably not. It is the only known case of its kind. These were all 'foreign' petitions and perhaps this is why the council considered them. Other examples of direct warrants to the keeper are not of any special kind.

[1] An example is printed in S. B. Chrimes and A. L. Brown, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History, 1307–1485* (1961), p. 380.

[2] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iii. 268.

[3] For example, it is referred to frequently in Exchequer Accounts (E 101), bundle 407, no. 4.

[4] One asks 'que plese a vostre hautesse comaunder par ycestes endocez et seelez de vostre chamberlayn direct' a vostre prive seel pur fere un garrant'. *Proceedings and Ordinances*, ii. 338, printed from a Rymer transcript; the original is in Council and

chamberlains' bills from the minority of Henry VI, when the king did not possess a signet, which bear the marks of a signet seal.[1] On the whole it seems more likely that these bills by-passed the signet office altogether.

One special form of the chamberlains' bill was the certificate of homage. This was a document drawn up by the keeper of the rolls of chancery declaring that homage was due by one of the king's tenants; it was sent to the Privy Seal and there addressed to the chamberlain; and in due course it was returned to the Privy Seal endorsed by one of the chamberlains that the king had taken the homage. This served as a warrant to the keeper of the privy seal for the issue of a warrant to the chancellor to issue letters giving livery of the tenant's lands.[2] This is a good example of the formality of later medieval government which might well be described as a bureaucracy.

Two questions arise about these bills. Can the endorsements be accepted at their apparent value? And why does the chamberlain enter into the matter at all? The answer to the first question is undoubtedly that the endorsements are correct in stating that the king himself granted the bills. A number have endorsements slightly longer than the normal 'Le roy ad grante' which would be ridiculous if the king had not granted them. For example, statements that 'Le roy ad grante tout la bille alinstance et priere de la royne' or 'Le roy ad grante tout la bille par ce quil ad conissance de les (matires) desouz expresses' are surely not fictions.[3] Moreover the petitions seek grants of land, office, benefices, pardons of crime, and other graces which no chamberlain nor, indeed, any other official could himself have granted. These are the graces which every king was jealous to retain in his own hand. Unquestionably the chamberlains' bill represents a decision taken by the king personally. An answer to the second question is more difficult to give, particularly as there are many petitions conceded by the king which led to the issue of letters under the great seal but were not endorsed by a chamberlain. It is better postponed so that all petitions can be considered together.[4]

Privy Seal, file 37 (undated). The other asks that the king should 'signifier au gardein de soun prive seale par ceste bille a estre ensignee de la mayn et signet du chamberleyn nostre dit seignur le roy'. *Ibid.*, file 19 (29 March).

[1] *Ibid.*, files 39–41. These are petitions conceded by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, chamberlain of England, by virtue of the personal powers he was granted as protector in 1422. The statement in Otway-Ruthven, pp. 24 and 33, that a signet was prepared at the beginning of the reign is based on a mistranslation in *Issues of the Exchequer*, ed. F. Devon (1837), p. 382. John Bernes, a London goldsmith, was paid for riding to Windsor 'et ibidem sculpando magnum sigillum ipsius domini regis cum signo secreto', that is making a mark on Henry V's great seal so that it could be used by Henry VI, not making a privy signet. Issue Roll (E 403), no. 664, 18 Oct. 1423.

[2] See further Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 88–9. Certificates of homage were normally sealed and closed with a signet seal twice, once presumably by the chamberlain like any other chamberlains' bill, and once by the keeper of the rolls or the keeper of the privy seal—the former is the more likely.

[3] Council and Privy Seal, files 15 (13 Nov.) and 20 (14 Apr.).

[4] Below, pp. 148–9.

Chamberlains' bills and direct orders from the king make up 165 of the 257 warrants known for privy-seal writs to chancery in this sixth year. Eighty-one of the remainder are signet letters to the keeper of the privy seal. They are formal documents, sealed, and with a time and a place date though without the regnal year, and, like privy-seal warrants, they tell little of the way in which they originated.[1] A few enclosed a copy of a petition asking for the grace which the signet letter ordered, and as most signet letters to the keeper ordered grants of grace it is very probable that most originated in a petition to the king. A petition was the normal way of seeking a grant from the king, and it is not surprising that only some signet letters forwarded copies of petitions to the Privy Seal. Only some privy-seal warrants forwarded copies of petitions to chancery. In both cases this was done to make it quite clear what the king had conceded and presumably to save the clerks trouble in composing a complicated warrant. The original petitions were no doubt filed in the signet office in the same way that others were filed in the Privy Seal, but the signet archives were almost completely destroyed in the fire of 1619. It is also probable that most or all of these signet letters were ordered by the king himself. The letters they ordered were in no way different from those ordered by chamberlains' bills or direct warrants, and who else but the king could have conceded them? The signet office had no function other than to act as a writing office for the king. It travelled with him continuously and during the minority of Henry VI the office and the seal disappeared until the king could again instruct it personally. There can hardly be any doubt that a signet warrant represents a royal order, but it is impossible to be sure how this order was given to the secretary. Perhaps, as the secretary must have almost always been at hand, the king merely handed conceded petitions to him in the same way that he handed some to the keeper of the privy seal.[2]

These three types, the direct order, the chamberlains' bill, and the signet letter, were the normal warrants received by the keeper of the privy seal in this sixth year, and in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries generally. Most seem to have originated in a petition to the king and a decision taken by the king personally. What then was the distinction between the three? It was certainly not in subject matter. Almost all privy-seal warrants to chancery ordered grants of grace, pardons, benefices, goods and the like, and they seem to be ordered indiscriminately in any of the three ways. A distinct pattern does, however, emerge if the warrants are classified according to date. There is no hard and fast rule but most signet letters belong to the spring and summer of 1405 when the king was in the west or

[1] They are filed in the series Privy Seal Office, Warrants for the Privy Seal (P.S.O. 1). An example is printed in Maxwell-Lyte, p. 79. The privy-seal clerks ignored the time and place date on the signet letters in preparing the resulting privy-seal warrants.

[2] In the regulations of *c.* 1444 it is proposed that if the king grants a petition he should sign it himself or command his chamberlain to 'subscribe' it or take it to his secretary 'commaundyng him therwith'. *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 318.

north, or at least away from Westminster. For example, of the eighty-one signet letters to the keeper, four are dated at Westminster or the Tower; eighteen at Windsor, Berkhamstead, or places within a day's journey of London; fifty-eight at places further afield; and in one case the date on the letter is destroyed. It seems that the signet letter was used as a warrant primarily when the king was out of personal contact with the Privy Seal, and the two other types of warrant were used primarily when the king and the Privy Seal were close together. The pattern of evidence can be seen in Table II below. It is distorted by the loss of many warrants in the first part of the sixth year and in August and September 1405, but between March and August a high proportion of the warrants survive and there is a definite, though not a complete contrast between the times when the keeper of the privy seal was close to the king and when he was not. There is no neat pattern of evidence. There are, for example, signet letters dated at times when it seems that the king could have given a direct order to the keeper. And there is an element of uncertainty in the evidence because there is no means of telling when the secretary was ordered to issue a signet letter nor when a chamberlains' bill was conceded by the king. For example, a chamberlains' bill may have been granted days or weeks before the date on the privy-seal warrant which resulted from it. But, even so, there seems to be a genuine distinction between the circumstances in which a signet letter and the other two types of warrant were used. A direct warrant could be used only when the keeper was with the king, and the keeper was probably unwilling to accept a chamberlains' bill when the chamberlain was not at hand[1]—perhaps a chamberlains' bill was normally handed by the chamberlain personally to the keeper. On the other hand the Privy Seal accepted signet warrants freely, though chancery would not accept them for any matter of importance.[2] There were therefore sound practical reasons for this pattern of warrants to the Privy Seal. There were probably no formalized *rules*, and there seem to have been quite a few exceptions, but in most cases this is what happened. This means that the signet letter instead of being the *normal* warrant for the privy seal, as is often stated, was used primarily when it was not convenient to use other methods.

There remain eleven warrants for the privy seal which have more complicated histories. Four of these raise no important issue and merely illustrate the difficulties that might arise in obtaining a warrant. In two cases both a signet letter and a direct order to the same effect survive. In the first, a complicated case of the restoration of forefeited land to Sir John Lumley, a signet letter was sent to the keeper dated at Berkhamstead on 13 March enclosing a copy of Lumley's petition and ordering the issue of a privy-seal warrant to the chancellor. This was duly issued dated at Westminster on 20 March, but for some reason the chancellor, Thomas Langley, was doubtful about the matter and on the same day showed the warrant and

[1] This argument is more convincing when it is remembered that every office had careful standards for accepting warrants.

[2] See below p. 141.

a copy of the petition to the king at Westminster. The endorsement recording this is mutilated, but apparently the king confirmed his earlier decision and ordered the keeper to issue another warrant to the same effect, and a second privy-seal warrant was issued also dated at Westminster on 20 March.[1] In the second case Mereduth ap Madoc, who in 1403 had been granted the custody of some land in Shropshire during a minority, obtained a re-grant with the marriage of the heiress in addition. His petition survives, complaining that he had been deprived of the marriage in 1403 and asking that it should now be granted to him. This is endorsed 'Lettre ent feut fait par commandement du roy a Wyndes . . .', clearly at Windsor, and therefore before 24 April. There is also a signet letter to the keeper dated at Oxford on 27 April granting both the custody and the marriage, and this was the form of the resulting privy-seal warrant dated at Westminster on the 28th—a suspiciously short time for the warrant to come from Oxford.[2] Perhaps the explanation is that the first grant was considered inadequate or doubtful and Mereduth obtained a second grant in a better form. In a third case there survive both a chamberlains' bill and a signet letter ordering a warrant for the grant to Alice Roger of lands and goods forfeited by her brother. The chamberlains' bill is mutilated and is endorsed that a (privy-seal) letter was made by its order at Westminster on 14 July, but this letter does not appear to survive. The signet letter is dated at Hereford on 9 September and led to the issue of a privy-seal warrant dated at Hereford on 8 [*sic*] September.[3] As the bill and the final form of the grant are slightly different in wording the explanation is probably that the first form was questioned and Alice was obliged to present another petition. In a fourth case a certificate of homage was sent to the keeper enclosed in a signet letter.[4]

The seven remaining warrants, three chamberlains' bills and four signet letters, have endorsements stating that they were approved or amended by the council. In four cases the council merely approved the grant,[5] and in

[1] The signet letter and the enclosed petition are Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 2, nos. 20–1; the first privy-seal warrant and the enclosed petition are Council and Privy Seal, file 19 (20 March); the second privy-seal warrant is Chancery Warrants, file 625, no. 4247; and the resulting letter-patent is in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, p. 7.

[2] The petition is Council and Privy Seal, file 14 (28 Apr.); the signet letter is Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 2, no. 82; the privy-seal warrant is Chancery Warrants, file 626, no. 4319; and the resulting letter-patent is in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, p. 10.

[3] The chamberlains' bill is Council and Privy Seal, file 22 (14 July); the signet letter is Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 4, no. 188; the privy-seal warrant is Chancery Warrants, file 628, no. 4513; and the resulting letter-patent is in *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, p. 36.

[4] Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 2, no. 50, enclosing file 61, no. 17.

[5] The four cases are Council and Privy Seal, file 17 (15 Jan.), a chamberlains' bill, leading to Chancery Warrants, file 624, no. 4165, which mentions the assent of the council, and to *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 408; Council and Privy Seal, file 17 (16 Jan.), a chamberlains' bill, leading to Chancery Warrants, file 624, no. 4166, which mentions the assent of the council, and to *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 483; Council and Privy Seal, file 19 (19 March), a chamberlains' bill, leading to

three it amended the form of it slightly. It took the precaution of adding to one the provision that the chancellor must ensure that certain evidences and obligations had been delivered in the exchequer before he issued the letters-patent.[1] In the second case 'Le garant fait sur ceste lettre estoit corrigez et amendez ovesqe laddicion de les deux paroles desus entrelinez, cestassavoir *toux et chescuns*'.[2] And in the third the grant of a pardon of murder was amended by adding that Richard Taillour was 'autrement dit Richard Taillour de Walpool'.[3] In these cases the council seems to be acting as a watchdog over the king's interests and as an authority able to clarify the terms of a royal grant, something which the keeper himself had presumably no authority to do. This accords well with what is known of the work of the council in general. The number of these cases is, however, very small. In the earlier years of the reign rather more of the warrants record the approval of the council, but even then they are only a small proportion of all the warrants. Was this the limit of the council's scrutiny? In none of these cases is there any indication that the matter was referred by the king to the council, though cases of reference by the king are not uncommon in other years. Did the council then scrutinize all warrants? Probably not, though inevitably there is no evidence to prove this. But it seems more likely that only a few warrants were brought to the attention of the council by the keeper, though it is also likely that the number of these cases was normally greater than these seven would suggest. Apart from extraordinary times the character of the council was that it was the king's council, appointed by the king to assist him with the work of government; king and council were in no sense rivals. But there were subjects which the king was particularly glad to leave to the council—financial matters, for example; a much higher proportion of the privy-seal warrants to the treasurer and chamberlains and

Chancery Warrants, file 625, no. 4246, which does not mention the assent of the council, and to *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 500; and Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 3, no. 103, a signet letter, leading to Chancery Warrants, file 625, no. 4346, which mentions the assent of the council, and to *Cal. Close Rolls 1402–1405*, p. 508. In the last example the signet letter dated at Worcester on 4 May is endorsed by the clerk of the council 'Le xvj iour de May, lan etc. sisme, presentz en le consail messeignurs les chanceller, les evesqes de Wync' et Baath', les tresorer, gardein du prive seal, monsire Arnaut Savage, et Johan Doreward, accordez est qe garrant soient faitz selonc la contenue de ceste lettre'.

[1] Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 2, nos 28–29, a signet letter, leading to Chancery Warrants, file 625, no. 4255, which does not mention the assent of the council, and to *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, pp. 6–7.

[2] Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 3, no. 156, a signet letter, leading to Chancery Warrants, file 626, no. 4396, which does not mention the assent of the council, and to an entry on the Gascon roll (C 61/110), m. 1. The mayor and commonalty of Bordeaux were given licence to come with their ships, 'toux et chescuns', to England to bring back food; and these words are duly interlineated on the warrant—as the endorsement says.

[3] Warrants for the Privy Seal, file 2, nos. 90–1, a signet letter, leading to Chancery Warrants, file 626, no. 4324, which does not mention the assent of the council, and to *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, p. 15.

to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer were ordered by the council, with or without the king.[1] The letters under the great seal ordered directly by the council tell the same story.[2] In general the more technical and complicated matters were delegated to the council. And as most privy-seal warrants to chancery ordered grants of royal grace it is not surprising that only a small proportion were examined by the council. The demand that the council should approve more of them came from reformers, in particular from the Commons in parliament who believed that if the king was well-advised and his generosity curbed, then they would not be asked so frequently for taxation.[3]

The evidence of the sixth year of Henry IV's reign gives a precise picture of the background to letters warranted 'By p.s.'. These letters normally granted some grace and were conceded by the king himself, probably in almost all cases as the result of a written petition presented to him. The king's decision might be conveyed to the keeper of the privy seal either personally or, as happened most frequently, in the form of a chamberlains' bill, or, if the keeper was not near at hand, it might be sent in the form of a signet letter. The decision was then conveyed to the chancellor in a privy-seal writ, dated in all probability with the time and place at which it was written. The resulting letter under the great seal normally copied the text of the warrant closely and adopted its time and place date. The same conclusions apply to letters other than protections warranted by privy-seal bills.[4] Only one type of privy-seal writ to the chancellor was normally issued on the authority of the keeper of the privy seal himself, the writ of *procedendo* where one of the parties in a suit in chancery pleaded a special protection from the king, but there are no examples of this writ from this year. These conclusions should not be taken as rigid rules applied without exception or error, but they represent the normal practice of the period.[5]

[1] In this sixth year almost 30% of the privy-seal warrants to the treasurer and chamberlains and almost 40% of those to the treasurer and barons record the assent of the council, and these proportions are quite normal.

[2] Below, pp. 149–51.

[3] See my article on 'The Commons and the Council in the reign of Henry IV', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lxxix (1964), 1–30.

[4] See above, p. 131. Written warrants survive for only 4 of these 10 bills; 3 are signet letters and one is a direct order from the king.

[5] It must also be remembered that some warrants did not lead to an entry on the chancery rolls; in this year 36 privy-seal writs did not do so. Two ordered the grant of special assizes of *novel disseisin*, a type of letter which was not enrolled; one ordered the renewal of a lost patent according to the date and form of the original enrolment; 4 ordered the grant of new-creation pensions, a type of letter which often did not lead to an enrolment; but the others ordered pardons of crime, grants of benefices, offices, lands, and other gifts, letters which were normally enrolled. In a very few cases there is an obvious explanation, for example, a new and different warrant was issued, or the grant had already been given to someone else. But in most cases there is no obvious explanation, though in some it is known that the grant became effective. Occasionally the explanation may be oversight in chancery, but the most likely explanation is that the grantee was unwilling to pay to have his letter enrolled.

If the privy-seal warrant had been the only method of conveying an instruction from the king to the chancellor it would have been understandable, though somewhat roundabout and archaic. But simultaneously another method was in use to achieve apparently the same result. Orders were given directly by the king to the chancellor and led to the issue of letters under the great seal with the note of warranty 'per ipsum regem'.[1] Two kinds of written warrant normally led to this note of warranty, petitions handed directly to the chancellor by the king, and signet letters to the chancellor.[2] Occasionally a chamberlains' bill or a petition endorsed by the king himself was sent directly to the chancellor and led to an enrolment warranted 'per ipsum regem', but cases like this are few.[3] The signet letters also are unimportant—scarcely more than 400 survive for the entire reign of Henry IV. Three-quarters of these order the issue of writs to pay arrears of annuities, writs which were not enrolled,[4] and many of the remainder order safe-conducts and protections. The signet seems to be going through a period of relative unimportance, perhaps a reaction to its extensive use by Richard II. The exchequer would not accept it as a warrant at all, and it was not normally used as a warrant to chancery for grants of grace, so frequently ordered by privy-seal writs or direct orders to the chancellor. It was useful as a means for the king to communicate with the council, but as a warrant it was little used at this period save as a warrant to the Privy Seal.

The normal warrant leading to letters with the note of warranty 'per ipsum regem' was a petition to the king upon which someone, presumably a clerk in chancery, had written the words 'Ista billa concessa fuit per dominum regem et tradita [or liberata] fuit ad cancellarium ad exequendam', or at least words similar to these.[5] Some endorsements add the date or the

[1] See Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 141–67.

[2] The signet letters are filed in Chancery Warrants, files 1358 and 1363. The petitions are more scattered. Some are in the collection of Chancery Warrants, arranged chronologically in files 1403–4 or alphabetically in files 1409–21; others have been transferred to Ancient Petitions (S.C. 8) and have to be pursued throughout that collection.

[3] There are 3 examples of petitions from this year endorsed by the king himself. Ancient Petitions (S.C. 8), nos. 6835, 9197, and 12386. The letter ordered by no. 9197 is antedated by command of the king.

[4] Writs of *liberate*, once numerous, were by the early 15th century issued primarily to order the payment of the customary annual fees of the judges and a few officials, and were enrolled on the *Liberate* rolls. Writs ordering the payment of annuities, their injunctive clause beginning with the word 'cum', were now much more numerous than the *liberate* writs, and, apart from a few ordering the payment of supplementary fees to officials which were enrolled on the *Liberate* rolls, they were not enrolled at all. Normally both these types of writs could be purchased in chancery without a warrant, but the financial difficulties of Henry IV led to a moratorium on the payment of annuities for one year from Easter 1404. As a result many annuity-holders petitioned the king for writs ordering payment as an act of grace, and many of those of the sixth, seventh, and eighth years have notes of warranty, mostly 'per ipsum regem', none 'per breve de privato sigillo'.

[5] Examples of these bills are printed in Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 146 *et seq.* and in Chrimes and Brown, p. 380.

place where the action took place, and occasionally, though not in this year, other pieces of information such as the name of the person at whose instance the grant was made, the names of those present at the time, and sometimes words such as 'manu sua propria' or 'oretenus'. There can be little doubt that these endorsements were intended to convey that the king himself had granted the petition and handed it to the chancellor to issue the appropriate letter. Intermediaries may sometime have been employed but this was sometimes noted in the endorsement and in the note of warranty, and an actual physical handing-over by the king seems to be implied. This can be confirmed in various ways. There is, for example, a marked contrast in the distribution of notes of warranty according as the king and the chancellor are close at hand or apart. Letters warranted 'By K' are infrequent on the rolls when they are apart, except on the *Rotulus Viagii* compiled by the section of chancery travelling with the king.[1] When Henry V was in France the note of warranty 'By K' is found frequently only on the Norman rolls written in France, and infrequently on the rolls written in England where it means that a signet letter has been sent to the chancellor from the king. And during the minority of Henry VI it disappears completely. In any case many of the letters warranted in this way concede grants of grace which only the king could give. There is a consistent pattern in the evidence which proves beyond doubt that normally the king himself ordered letters warranted 'By K', and that when the letter resulted from a petition he had normally handed the conceded petition directly to the chancellor.[2]

The evidence of these signet letters and conceded petitions is clear enough as far as it goes, but written warrants exist for only a proportion of the letters on the rolls. In this year there are written warrants for only 178 of the 363 letters on the Patent rolls warranted 'By K' and for only thirty-one of the 177 on the Close roll. In some further cases, twenty-five on the Patent rolls and five on the Close roll, a petition for the letter survives among the Ancient Petitions, but a petition without an endorsement of any kind. These merely confirm that the case began with a petition, but give no indication of how it was conceded.[3] What about the remaining letters? Is it justifiable to assume that the greater part of the warrants have been lost, and that those that survive are representative of the whole? The answer is that it is certainly

[1] For example, during May 1405 when both chancery and the Privy Seal were at Westminster and the king was in the Welsh Marches, only 4 letters on the Patent roll are warranted 'By K' compared with 19 warranted 'By p.s.'; in June, however, when both chancellor and keeper joined the king in the north for a week or ten days, 37 are warranted 'By K' and 32 'By p.s.'. During these two months, apart from the period when the chancellor was with the king, 121 letters warranted 'By K' were enrolled on the *Rotulus Viagii*, though 71 of these were pardons probably conceded in chancery. See below, pp. 143–4.

[2] Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 116 and 148, cites further evidence in support of the same conclusion.

[3] Examples are Ancient Petitions (S.C. 8), nos. 11463, 11492, 11502 and 11523. These seem to be original petitions, not copies; perhaps the chancery clerks merely failed to endorse them.

not justifiable. There probably have been losses, though it is not possible to say when these occurred. Grants of grace, of lands, money, offices and benefices, warranted 'By K' cannot, however, have been conceded by anyone but the king, and the great majority probably originated in a written petition. It is likely that some petitions were purely verbal, but the accepted way of approaching the king seems to have been by a written petition—even for people of the highest degree.[1] There are also two other explanations of the note of warranty 'per ipsum regem'—in some cases it was probably a fiction, and in others it signified a purely verbal order from the king.

There is only one type of letter where it is likely to have been a fiction; this is the general pardon. General pardons are quite distinct from the pardons of particular and specified crimes enrolled on the Patent rolls which were petitioned for individually and conceded individually by the king himself. Written warrants, either privy-seal or direct warrants, survive for many of these particular pardons. The general pardon, in contrast, pardoned all insurrections, felonies and transgressions without specifying one in particular, often those committed before a given date or between two given dates, though the terms and the extent of the pardon varied from time to time. Large numbers in precisely the same form were issued. On the rolls of the sixth year there are thirty in one form warranted 'per ipsum regem' on one Pardon roll; 330 in another form warranted 'per ipsum regem et consilium' on a second Pardon roll; and a further 310 in a third form warranted 'per ipsum regem' on the *Rotulus Viagii*.[2] And in some of the earlier years of the reign general pardons were enrolled by the thousand. Many of these were issued as the result of general pardons conceded by the king in parliament and issued as statutes, others were conceded outside parliament. The intention and the implications of the policy of conceding general pardons so freely is a subject which very much requires examination, but the immediate problem here is how did an individual obtain the benefit of one of these general pardons? No written warrant for any of these letters of the sixth year has been found,[3] and it is probable that the note of warranty refers not to a decision taken by the king or the king and the council in each particular case, but to the original decision to issue a general pardon to all who wished to take advantage of it, and that individuals could obtain their general pardons merely by coming to chancery and paying the appropriate fine and fee. This certainly seems to be true of the 330 general pardons warranted 'By K & C' issued in August and

[1] See below, p. 148.

[2] On the 'ordinary' Pardon roll covering the years 1–14 Hen. IV (C 67/32) there are pardons issued in the same form as in previous years; on the second roll (C 67/33) covering 6–10 Hen. IV there are pardons for actions committed between 1 May and 1 Aug. 1405; and on the *Rotulus Viagii* (C 66/388) there are pardons for all treasons, insurrections, rebellions, and felonies committed 'ante hec tempora'.

[3] In three cases of general pardons entered on the *Rotulus Viagii* an unendorsed petition, probably for the same grace, survives among the Ancient Petitions. But the significant thing is that though specific royal warrants survive for 80 of the 101 particular pardons on the rolls of this year, not one survives for any of the 670 general pardons.

September 1405. In this case there survives a memorandum written by the clerk of the council of a decision taken at a meeting of the council at Pontefract Castle on 8 August that all the king's lieges could have general pardons in specified terms on application to the chancellor and on payment of fines in proportion to the value of their lands and goods.[1] The note of warranty 'By K & C' in these cases must refer not to a series of decisions in individual cases but to the general decision taken on 8 August. The same is probably true of the other general pardons warranted 'By K'. It is certainly surprising how many petty decisions the king was obliged to take personally, but it is most unlikely that he had to concede these hundreds of pardons individually.

Another explanation of the smaller proportion of written warrants surviving for letters warranted 'By K' is that in some cases there was only a verbal and not a written order from the king. Almost all the written warrants are petitions asking for graces from the king[2]; but what happened when the king wished a letter issued which concerned not grace but government—for example, to summon a parliament, commission an ambassador or a justice, issue a proclamation, summon a man to his presence or order a traitor's head to be set up on a town gate? Presumably he merely ordered the chancellor, the keeper of the privy seal, or the secretary to issue the letter. This can be demonstrated in the case of the Privy Seal, but chancery seems to have taken no trouble to record such orders. The conclusion can however be proved indirectly because there is a significant lack of written warrants for certain types of letter. On the Patent rolls, for example, most letters warranted 'By K' are grants of grace, and written warrants, including unendorsed petitions, survive for almost three-quarters of them. The striking exception is the commissions enrolled on the back of the rolls—in this year there are thirty-seven with the note of warranty 'By K'. In some cases, particularly of commissions to enquire into complaints, it is clear that

[1] Chancery Warrants, file 1541, nos. 86–91 and 93. This group of documents, recently added to the file, consists of two forms of general pardons endorsed with a record of the decision of the council to make them available, and five lists of the names of those receiving pardons—the memoranda from which the Pardon roll was later written up. One decision reads that on 8 Aug. at Pontefract Castle, present in the council the bishops of Winchester and Bath, the earl of Westmorland, the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, Lord Willoughby and Lord Grey, the chamberlain, 'assentux estoit qe tous les liges du roy sibien espirituelx come temporelx eiantx terres, tenementx, et reversions de la value de v marcx vi s. viii d. et outre par an, et biens et chateux a la value de viii li. vi s. viii d. et outre, et vuillantx enformer le chanceller Dengleterre de la vraie value annuele de tous leur terres, tenementx, et reversions outre les charges, et de la vraie value de leur biens et chateaux outre les sommes de deniers par eux dux a leur peril demesne, pursuent au dit chanceller et facent fyn ovec lui, cestassavoir a la value de meames leur terres et tenementx dun an et a la value de la tierce partie de leur biens et chateux, et surce eient leur chartres de la forme dedeins escripte, paiantx pur le fee du seal pur icelles chartres en la chancellerie xxii s. iiii d. tantsoulement, sanx paier la grande fee du grand seal pur meames les chartres'.

[2] It must be remembered that the medieval—and early modern—idea of a grace was wide; it included not only things like pardons or benefices, but offices, and not merely sinecure offices.

a petition has been presented to the king. It is impossible to be certain, but this is probably true of thirteen of the thirty-seven commissions, and a petition survives for eight of these thirteen letters. The remaining twenty-four cases are commissions of array, of *oyer et terminer*, commissions to take ships or provisions for a campaign, and commissions to arrest people and bring them before the king or the council where no private interest is stated; and in none of these cases has a written warrant been found. The same is true of commissions to ambassadors on the Treaty rolls and of a miscellany of letters on the Close rolls—for example, letters to array men, guard prisoners or issue proclamations. The commonsense explanation is that in cases like these the king ordered the letters verbally, no doubt often after prompting by or discussion with his officers.

It is not possible, then, to be so definite about the letters warranted 'per ipsum regem' as it was about those warranted 'per breve de privato sigillo'. But the general conclusion must be that letters concerning matters of grace normally began with a petition to the king which he conceded and handed directly to the chancellor, ordering him to issue the appropriate letters; in a small number of cases of lesser importance the king gave the petition to the secretary who issued a signet warrant to the chancellor. In the case of letters concerning not grace but government there was normally only a verbal instruction to the chancellor which was not written down in chancery. And in the case of general pardons, these seem to have been conceded in chancery without reference to the king at all on the payment of the appropriate fine and fee.

These details are readily understandable, but it is difficult to explain why both the privy-seal and the direct methods of conveying orders from the king to chancery were in use simultaneously. Part of the explanation is that there was some distinction in the purposes for which they were used. Letters which concerned government rather than grace, the letters which originated in a purely verbal order and not in a petition, were rarely ordered by privy-seal warrants. For example, commissions on the Patent rolls are rarely warranted 'By p.s.'—only three in this sixth year as compared with thirty-seven warranted 'By K', and each of these three began with a petition to the king. The same distinction is true of other types of letter. For example, in the first six years of Henry IV's reign forty-one commissions to envoys to treat with foreign representatives are printed in Rymer's *Foedera*; twenty-nine are warranted 'By K', eleven 'By K & C', and only one 'By p.s.'. The obvious explanation is that in these cases it was simpler and quicker for the king to instruct the chancellor directly or order the council to see to the matter; only occasionally was it more convenient to transmit the order by way of the privy-seal office. This is perfectly understandable, but why then did approximately half the orders for grants of grace pass through the privy-seal office?[1] Surely in these cases, also, it

[1] There is no significance in the fact that the proportion is a half. The figure varies materially from year to year.

would have been simpler and quicker to instruct the chancellor directly? The answer does not appear to lie in any distinction in subject-matter between the graces conceded by privy-seal and direct warrants. Grants of pardons,[1] benefices, lands, goods and other graces seem to have been ordered in either way without obvious distinction. There is no distinction either in the people who received the grants. There are a few discernible conventions. Writs ordering the payment of annuities, when they were ordered by the king at all, were normally ordered by direct warrants and rarely by privy-seal warrants. The restoration of lands after homage had been taken was normally ordered by a privy-seal warrant, though the explanation in this case probably lies not in subject-matter but in the fact that the chamberlains presented men doing homage, and royal orders coming through the chamberlains normally came by way of the Privy Seal. More important, when the king was out of personal contact with his chancellor, the direct handing-over of petitions was impossible, and current standards apparently forbade the use of signet warrants to the chancellor save for matters of minor importance. In these circumstances unless the letter was enrolled on the *Rotulus Viagii*, presumably as the result of a direct order from the king to the head of the section of chancery travelling with him,[2] a signet letter would normally be sent to the keeper of the privy seal. But these conventions cover only a small proportion of the letters; some much more comprehensive explanation is required.

It is tempting to fall back on a purely literal interpretation of the warrants, particularly as investigation has shown that the endorsements on petitions should normally be taken at their apparent value. Can the explanation be that when the king conceded a petition he handed it to the officer who happened to be at hand, to the chancellor, to one of the chamberlains, to the keeper of the privy seal, or to the secretary—whichever was convenient? It cannot have been of much concern to the king how his grant came to be translated into a letter under the great seal. He received no fees from the issue of signet or privy-seal warrants; fees were paid in chancery, but these were paid however the letter was warranted. This explanation may seem too simple to be possible; surely, it may be objected, contemporaries would have realized that in most cases the roundabout privy-seal warrant could have been avoided. But they probably did realize it. It was realized in the sixteenth century, yet the privy-seal warrant to chancery continued to be

[1] The provision in the statute 13 Ric. II, st. 2, c. 1 that charters of pardon of treason or felony should be ordered by privy-seal warrants was not observed.

[2] On the *Rotulus Viagii* for this year there is a block of 310 general pardons probably conceded in chancery though warranted 'By K'. See above, pp. 143–4. A few petitions seeking these pardons do survive, but none bears any endorsement. There is also a high proportion of letters concerning government on this roll. Warrants survive for only 16 of the grants of grace—2 chamberlains' bills, 3 petitions endorsed 'Ista billa concessa fuit per regem', and 11 unendorsed petitions. This is a completely different collection of warrants from those that normally lead to the note of warranty 'By K', a further confirmation that the endorsements on direct warrants are not just conventional formulae.

used until the nineteenth century because a vested interest had been created —the privy-seal clerks depended on it for their income.[1] This is surely part of the explanation in the fifteenth century. The background to it is that the privy-seal clerks received no wages. From the king they received board and lodging in a hostel conducted by the keeper, annual gifts of clothes, and occasionally graces of one kind or another. Though a great part of their work was writing letters for the king it was only rarely that they received payment for it; for them the profitable part of their work was writing letters for private suitors, particularly, it is likely, writing warrants to chancery. Gifts and favours were obtained for this work. No official record of these survive, but it is clear that they were paid. Private accounts occasionally record this, and Thomas Hoccleve, a clerk in the Privy Seal at this time, shows in his verses how much the clerks valued them.[2] A century later all this was much more regularized. In 1536 the privy-seal and signet clerks who still did not receive wages, protested that they lost fees because of the use of direct warrants to chancery, and it was laid down by statute that the full signet/privy seal/great seal procedure should be followed, and that even where a direct warrant was employed the signet and privy-seal clerks should not lose their fees—and these fees were specified.[3] By then there was no doubt that the privy-seal warrant to chancery was regarded primarily as a means of giving an income to the clerks. This view is unlikely to have been unknown a century earlier.

To sum up: there is no neat pattern of evidence, and there were apparently no clear-cut, logical rules governing practice in the early fifteenth century. It is certain however that few letters concerning the king's business alone were ordered by privy-seal warrants, and it seems likely that many privy-seal warrants ordering grants of grace could equally well have been replaced by direct warrants. They were retained partly no doubt because of mere conservatism—they had once been useful; and partly because they were an important source of income for the privy-seal clerks. One or two conventions may have governed why a privy-seal or a direct warrant was used in a particular case, but these seem to have covered only a small proportion of the letters; on the available evidence the type of warrant used may well have been determined by the chance of who was present when the king made the grant —if the chancellor was present he received a direct order, if he was not, a privy-seal warrant was likely to result. It is surprising that petitioners did not ask for direct warrants as an additional grace to avoid paying fees in the privy-seal office—they did so in the later fifteenth and in the sixteenth

[1] Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 38–41.

[2] For example, the York Merchant Adventurers paid 6*s.* 8*d.* at the Privy Seal when they obtained their charter in 1430, but their total expenses amounted to over £90. *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers* (Surtees Soc., cxxix, 1918), pp. 33–4. Hoccleve complains about clerks being cheated of their fees in *The Regement of Princes*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (Early English Text Soc., lxxii, 1897), pp. 55–6.

[3] St. 27 Hen. VIII, c. 11; *Statutes of the Realm*, iii. 542–4.

centuries; perhaps earlier the fees were roughly the same—for example, the use of a privy-seal warrant may have saved a drafting-fee in chancery.

It would be easier to answer these questions if more was known about how petitions to the king were handled. The importance of the petition in later medieval government has never been sufficiently emphasized, though it is no exaggeration to say that it was the key to governmental action. Almost all the letters under the great seal warranted 'By p.s.' and many of those warranted 'By K' originated with a written petition to the king; the privy-seal archives contain many more petitions seeking privy-seal letters to the exchequer, to officers of central and local government, and missive letters; many petitions to the chancellor survive; and there are some to other officers. Petitions for graces, for letters under the great seal or, for example, for grants of timber and venison under the privy seal, are the most numerous but there are many seeking remedy for injustice and for administrative action—for example, for an order to the exchequer to account with an envoy returned from an embassy, or from a civil servant seeking his annual allowance of clothes. The petition was the normal method by which the subject approached the king for a grace, a remedy, or administrative action. Moreover, it was the 'correct' method for everyone, not merely for those who had no direct access to the king personally; petitions came from the queen, the king's sons, his councillors, even from his chamberlains. In the case of these people of importance the written petition is of course likely to tell only part of the story. They had friends and influence at court, and friends and influence were the key to most things in the fifteenth century. The Paston Letters, to mention only once source, amply demonstrate this, and there are quite a number of complaints in parliament about the furthering of petitions by influence, though the original petitions rarely show any evidence of this.[1] At a less exalted level, one of the king's clerks could be useful to advise or act as an agent in dealing with the offices of government. Some letters of Robert Frye, one of the privy-seal clerks at this period, show this type of arrangement in action.[2] There must also have been more public arrangements for handling the flood of petitions, but even contemporaries seem to have been in doubt about what these were. In 1399 the Commons petitioned that the king's lieges presented petitions to him but received no reply because they did not know from whom to demand it, and they asked that the king should 'assigner tiel qi vous purra faire relacion et doner responce a mesme les suppliantz'. The answer they received was 'Suent au chamberlayn et au

[1] A few petitions from Richard II's reign and a number from Henry VI's are endorsed with the names of those at court who sponsored them, but normally this information was not recorded. A good example of a petition to the king presented by a friend at court in 1406 is described in *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond (Rolls Ser., 1866–8), iii. 296–301.

[2] 26 letters to and from Frye survive in Council and Privy Seal, file 29; they show him acting as an agent and advisor to neighbours from his native Wiltshire and to acquaintances from Bordeaux to Durham in their dealings with the royal administration.

Counseill'.[1] In November 1402 the sheriffs of London were ordered to proclaim that for the greater peace of the king and his subjects, petitions should be presented on only two days in each week, namely Wednesday and Friday, at times and places to be specified, and either in the king's presence or that of others deputed for the purpose.[2] Wednesday and Friday were also the days set apart for the receipt of petitions in the thirty-one articles of 1406, though these were drawn up in special circumstances and may not represent normal practice.[3] After 1406 there are only a few general references to petitions until the regulations made about 1444, and these, again, are apparently special arrangements made necessary by the less active character of Henry VI, and are quite inapplicable to Henry IV's reign, and of little effect even in Henry VI's reign.[4] The impression that these few references give is that petitions were often handed personally to the king, and they add credence to a story told by John Stow who praised Henry V because, like his father, he made a practice every day when no state was kept of spending an hour or more after dinner receiving petitions and hearing the complaints of any who came.[5] Stow adds that if the king sat in his chamber, the steward of the household sat in the hall under the cloth of estate—presumably to receive petitions. The steward was apparently not the only official who acted as a receiver, and when it came to hearing the petitions it seems to have been the chamberlain who was of greatest importance. Court life contained a strong element of formal courtesy and etiquette, and the chamberlains were the officials who governed much of this; any business before the king, including the hearing of petitions, seems to have been their concern. Unfortunately the aspects of the office that are best recorded are its allowances and formal functions, for example at coronations.[6] A study of the many scraps of information about day-to-day life at court in later medieval England is badly needed.

Returning to the letters on the rolls, the only large groups remaining are those warranted 'per consilium' or 'per ipsum regem et consilium', and these are better considered together. In Maxwell-Lyte's view there is no close correlation between these notes of warranty and the warrants which

[1] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 444. The significance of the answer may lie in the wording of the petition. The Commons had mentioned two types of petition 'les uns en salvacion de lour vies, et les autres en salvacion de lour estate'; if they meant petitions asking for graces and petitions asking for remedy of injustice, the former were considered by the king, the latter often by the council.

[2] *Foedera*, ed. Rymer, viii. 282.

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 587.

[4] *Proceedings and Ordinances*, vi. 316–20.

[5] J. Stow, *The Annales* (1615), p. 342.

[6] The best collection of references to the chamberlains is in E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), i. 36–42, and *Fleta* is a useful medieval source. There are also many incidental sidelights on court life in many sources; for example the record of the chamberlain late in Edward III's reign disputing in the king's hearing with Alice Perrers whether or not he ought to present a petition he had been given. *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 13.

led to them.[1] It is certainly true that chancery not infrequently made mistakes in adding notes of warranty to letters, but in this year at least there seems to have been the obvious distinction that letters ordered by the council alone were warranted 'By C', and those ordered by the king and council jointly were warranted 'By K & C'. And there is a quite well-marked distinction between the types of letter warranted in the two ways.

Letters incorporating the most important policy decisions were warranted 'By K & C'. For example, the appointment of John of Lancaster as keeper of the West March, of Thomas of Lancaster as admiral and later as the king's lieutenant for a naval expedition, a pardon to all native merchants of half a mark of customs, and the orders to seize the lands of the great rebels of 1405 were warranted in this way, though it must be remembered that equally important letters were warranted simply 'By K'. Decisions like these could not be taken by the council alone, and though the king did not require to take the advice of his council, clearly he often found it prudent to do so. A written warrant survives in only one of these cases. It is a draft letter-close ordering the seizure of the duke of York's lands after his arrest, and the clerk of the council has written on it 'Per dominum regem de mandato suo et de avisamento et assensu consilii sui', there being present the bishop of Bath, the earls of Somerset and Warwick, the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, Lord Abergavenny, John Stanley, steward of the household, Sir Thomas Erpingham, and Sir John Pelham.[2] In the remaining cases the warrant has been lost, or, more probably, the order was purely verbal.

In addition to this group of particularly important letters there are others warranted 'By K & C' which concern more minor matters. For example, there are four letters-close ordering the payment of arrears of annuities notwithstanding the general restriction on these payments. The warrants for these are three signet letters to the chancellor, one of which the council had slightly amended, the others it had merely approved.[3] There is no indication that the king asked the council to consider these cases; perhaps the chancellor was in doubt about them; it was May and the king was in Wales, so he submitted them to the council. An example of a different kind is the letters of appointment of the keepers of Jersey and Guernsey. When the king set out for Wales at the end of April the council was left to negotiate the terms and conditions of these appointments, and in a letter to the king in May it reported on the progress it was making. When the letters giving effect to these appointments were issued on 11 and 28 May they were duly warranted 'By K & C'.[4] It is true that case-histories are known for only sixty-seven of the 116 letters warranted 'By K & C' of this year—that is excluding the 330 general pardons on the Pardon roll where the note of warranty is a fiction—

[1] Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 179–92. His conclusions on this point seem altogether too sweeping; a number of the cases he cites in support of his view can bear a different interpretation.

[2] Chancery Warrants, file 1541, no. 16.

[3] *Ibid.*, files 1358, nos. 33 and 38, and 1541, no. 23.

[4] *Proceedings and Ordinances*, i. 261 and Treaty roll (C 76/88), mm. 3–4.

but there are sufficient examples like these from this and other years in the early fifteenth century to justify a general confidence that 'By K & C' warranties are to be believed literally. In doubtful cases it is probably safer to believe the note of warranty because the written warrants are normally informal documents which do not necessarily record all the discussions which took place about the letters. By and large these letters concerned important royal business, and it is likely that many had more complicated histories than the written warrants disclose.

The letters warranted 'By C' are, in general, distinctly different in character from those warranted 'By K & C'. Many are commissions enrolled on the back of the Patent rolls, and not a few of these were for the benefit of individuals and resulted from petitions to the king or the council. The most common are commissions to enquire into alleged piracies against foreign merchants, or commissions to ensure that restitution was made to them. The records of the council are full of these maritime cases.[1] The other common type of letter concerns the king's business, but it is of a more technical or administrative nature than the letters warranted 'By K & C'. For example, there are commissions to take musters, commissions to take food, ships, or horses for a garrison or for a campaign, the appointment of judges and justices of the peace, and letters concerning financial transactions. The council was particularly active here during May and July when the king was in the west and north and the council remained at Westminster. This evidence confirms that of the council records that it was both an advisory body and an executive body; it advised the king and it was also empowered by the king to take decisions on some matters without reference to him; and these matters were in particular the more technical and complicated ones, often concerning finance or justice, which would have taken up a great deal of his time.

The actual warrants from the council vary considerably in appearance. In some cases the warrant is a memorandum of a council decision written by the clerk of the council and simply handed on to chancery. In others it is a draft letter written in a chancery-type hand and endorsed by the clerk of the council with the council's decision; presumably in these cases the chancellor or some other member had ordered a draft to be prepared for consideration. There are also petitions and signet letters either to the chancellor or the council endorsed by the clerk and handed on to chancery. It is interesting to remember that this clerk of the council, Robert Frye, was a privy-seal clerk,[2] and though many decisions in the council led to the issue of letters under the privy seal, it was uncommon for decisions to issue letters under the great seal to be conveyed to chancery in the form of privy-seal warrants.

There remain only the nine cases of uncommon notes of warranty. Three

[1] See *Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243–1482*, ed. I. S. Leadam and J. F. Baldwin (Selden Soc., xxxv, 1918), p. xxviii.

[2] Strictly speaking this is a misnomer. Frye was writing for the council from 1398 or 1399 and was paid regularly for his work by Henry IV, but he was given the title of clerk of the council only in Dec. 1406.

letters are warranted 'By petition in Parliament', and in all three cases the petition survives, noted that it was conceded by the king.[1] In the fourth case, a commission to audit the accounts of the treasurers of wars appointed to receive the unusual land-tax granted in the parliament of 1404, the note of warranty is 'By Council and petition in Parliament', but no petition appears to survive.[2] The text of the letter, however, refers to a petition presented in parliament by the four treasurers, and as the letter is dated more than two months after the close of parliament the likely explanation is that the petition was referred to the council for decision. Two letters have the note of warranty 'By K & C in Parliament', but no written warrant has been found for either. The first, a general exemption from assizes, juries, etc. for one of the king's councillors, John Doreward, seems unduly exalted by so comprehensive a note of warranty; perhaps Doreward was taking advantage of his position to have his grant approved as formally as possible.[3] The second, a grant about the manner of repayment of a loan made by the mayor and commons of London, is merely a special case of a general decision on the manner of repayment of loans taken by the king and lords in parliament, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the note of warranty.[4] The three remaining cases are of perfectly ordinary letters warranted both 'By p.s.' and 'By K'. Privy-seal warrants survive in two cases, but no direct warrant is known for any of them.[5] The notes of warranty are so unusual and so deliberate, however, that it must be presumed that there was indeed a double authorization in each case.

The evidence of these 2,500 letters justifies some firm answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this study. First, even allowing for the gaps in the evidence and the mistakes which the chancery clerks not infrequently made, it is fair to say that the great majority of notes of warranty are accurately recorded on the rolls. Second, notes of warranty are a good guide to those ordering the letters. With a few exceptions notes of warranty must be believed literally. The major exception is that general pardons warranted 'By K' or 'By K & C' appear to have been granted individually in chancery on the basis of a decision of principle taken by the king or the king and council. The notes of warranty 'By p.s.' and 'By bill of p.s.' are not strictly exceptions; they do mean that a privy-seal writ or bill ordered the letter, but this is only part of the story. Almost all privy-seal writs were ordered by the king himself; in the case of bills, most letters of protection were ordered by military commanders on behalf of their men, and the few other letters were normally ordered by the king. These apart, the note of warranty accurately summarizes how the letter came to be issued. This is,

[1] *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, pp. 454, 466, and 475; *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 550, 483–4 and 555–6. In the second case the petition has been printed in error with the records of the parliament of 1402.

[2] *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1401–1405*, p. 489.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 470; *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 547.

[5] *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1405–1408*, pp. 9 and 13; Gascon roll (C 61/110), m. 3.

however, a conclusion based on evidence from only one year; do notes of warranty mean the same things in other years? A quick survey of the evidence suggests that they do—at least in the generation before and after 1404–5. The major qualification to be made is that privy-seal writs sometimes represent orders from the council, not the king. For example, during the minority of Henry VI most privy-seal writs were issued on orders from the council, and in most this was noted in the text; the same is true of some of the writs issued in England while Henry V was in France. Otherwise the conclusions seem in general to be true.

There is, of course, considerable variation from year to year in the number of letters warranted in each way; this is how the student of each period can most easily profit by studying notes of warranty. There were also changes in the warrants which led to notes of warranty. In particular, signet warrants to the chancellor and to the keeper were sometimes more widely used than in this specimen year. Signet warrants to the chancellor are common in the years immediately before the crisis of 1386; they led to the note of warranty 'per litteram de signeto' until the late thirteen-eighties when practice began to change and they were recorded by the note of warranty 'per ipsum regem'.[1] The signet warrant to the keeper may have been equally common, but most of the evidence has been lost. The pattern of 1404–5 is typical of the first half of Henry IV's reign, down to the end of 1406; there is almost no evidence about warrants to the Privy Seal for the second half of the reign, but it is likely that the signet warrant to the keeper became more common because the king spent a great deal of his time away from Westminster without the privy seal to hand. In Henry V's reign letters warranted 'By K' on the rolls written in England while the king was abroad were ordered by signet letters from France. During the minority there was no signet, but from 1437 signet letters to both the chancellor and the keeper became common, and they became more common still during Edward IV's reign. It would be misleading to say that the signet warrant ever became part of the normal chain of warrants during this period, but it certainly came to be increasingly used. This is the major change in the wider period, but, inevitably the habits and character of the kings led to other changes. In the fourteen-forties, for example, though chamberlains' bills and petitions endorsed by the king himself were common warrants to the privy seal, many warrants were documents endorsed by Adam Moleyns, clerk of the council, secondary and later keeper of the privy seal, with a record of a decision by the king. These suggest that though Henry VI was not the inactive king he is sometimes said to have been, he was much more reliant on a court group than the other kings of the period.

Notes of warranty also suggest some more general conclusions about the character of later medieval government, though it must be emphasized that the letters on the rolls are only one field of government, and one which was

[1] Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 116–17. The note of warranty 'per litteram de signeto' passed out of use more slowly than Maxwell-Lyte suggests; there are, for example, three cases of it among the orders to pay annuities in the exchequer of 6 Hen. IV.

diminishing as letters under the smaller seals replaced letters-close, a process well under way by 1400. The most striking impression they give is of the dominant and burdensome role that the king was expected to play in government. In this year when he had to go twice to Wales on campaign and go to the north to suppress a rebellion, he ordered the issue of some 1,500 letters under the great seal, either alone or with the help of his council, and this takes no account of the hundreds of signet and privy-seal letters he ordered. The most numerous were letters giving grants of grace. A king was expected to be generous, and he had many desirable gifts in his hands, churches, prebends, corrodies, pardons of crime, custodies, offices, timber, venison, as well as land, money and goods; his subjects had learned to rush to ask for these things, and he received a flood of their petitions each year. Allowing for the petitions which he did not grant and those which were anticipated—and it is not uncommon for a petitioner to complain that he has presented other petitions in vain—Henry IV must have received over 2,000, and perhaps 3,000 or 4,000 petitions in this one year. No doubt they were often decided quickly, but it must have been a great burden never to be free of them and of the lobbying which apparently accompanied them. This is the background to the complaints frequently made in parliament in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the king was too generous in making grants, and that if he would only show restraint he could live of his own. This cry was an exaggeration, but looking at the rolls it is easy to see what provoked it.

The letters which concerned not grace but government are less numerous, though again it must be remembered that many were now being issued under the privy seal rather than the great seal. They also illustrate how much government depended on the king personally, not only for major decisions of policy, but for decisions on many of the trivia of day-to-day administration. They show that Henry IV was governing England to much the same extent, and probably in much the same way, that a great lord governed his estates. It would be wrong to say that government was simple or 'household' government; it was complex, bureaucratic, organized, and little a matter of household offices, but it was certainly very much 'personal' government. The notes of warranty of Henry V's reign show that the same was true even when the king was in France. It is not surprising that disaster followed when there was on the throne a king who could not bear this burden.

The king did not of course govern alone. In particular he had the assistance of his council, and the notes of warranty show quite clearly the sort of assistance that the council gave. It had little to do with grants of grace; it approved or amended a small number of these, but there is no evidence that it did more. Letters warranted 'By K & C' show that though the king could take decisions alone on all matters of government, he often took the more important decisions with the advice of his council, and he frequently referred matters to it. The council also relieved the king of part of his burden of work by dealing alone with some of the more technical and complicated

matters—for example, the appointment of justices of the peace—and particularly with financial and judicial or quasi-judicial business. A good indication of the relationship of king and council is the rise in the number of letters warranted 'By C' in May and July 1405 when the council remained at Westminster while the king was in the country. The council was the king's council, sharing at his request such of the burden of day-to-day government as could be committed to it. And, not surprisingly, the records of the council, which are plentiful for this year, show that it was a very professional body attended primarily by men with administrative experience.

Finally, the chancery rolls illustrate the extent to which the king relied on the initiative of his two principal officers, the chancellor and the treasurer. In the case of the treasurer only a small part of his work is represented, those letters which he had to ask the chancellor to issue. The rolls are better evidence of the extent of the chancellor's work because a letter enrolled without a note of warranty is normally issued on the authority of the chancellor himself.[1] These letters are very numerous and deserve a separate study, but their general importance is evident. Many are semi-routine letters, for example, writs ordering the payment of annuities, writs of *supersedeas omnino* issued in cases where another office, most often the exchequer, was unwilling or unable to accept an oath, or the writs concerning the transfer of land. Officials were chary of doing anything unless they had a warrant to do so, and chancery supplied an important need by taking many minor decisions which would otherwise have had to be taken by the king or the council. In addition the chancellor had authority to issue some letters of greater importance—for example, he had the right to present to churches in the king's gift valued at less than twenty marks; he could issue pardons for non-appearance in court, confirm some patents, and issue many commissions, some not very different from those ordered by the council. Chancery was an important administrative office, not so much because individually these letters were important, but because there were so many of them, and because the chancellor's authority was unique in an administration where so many decisions had to be taken by the king personally or by the council.

A. L. BROWN

[1] Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 216–22; Wilkinson, *Chancery under Edward III*, pp. 23 *et seq.*

TABLE I

NOTES ON WARRANTY ON THE CHANCERY ROLLS, 6 HENRY IV

	Total	*Ministers' Warrants*	*'By bill of p.s.'*	*'By p.s.'*	*'By K'*	*'By K & C'*	*'By C'*	*Others*
Charter	3				3			
Close	357	1		26	177	87	66	
Exchange	2			1	1			
Fine	229	139		26	28	13	23	
Gascon	44		7	25	11			1
Pardon	360				30	330		
Patent	901	45	40	378	360	8	62	8
Rotulus Viagii	420	1			419			
Scotch	19		5		13	1		
Treaty	181		115	15	39	7	5	
Total	2,516	186	167	471	1,081	446	156	9

TABLE II

WARRANTS FOR PRIVY-SEAL WRITS TO CHANCERY, 6 HENRY IV

Privy-seal writs dated[1] *between*		*Warrants known*	*Petitions known*[2]	*Chamberlains' bills*[3]	*Direct warrants*	*Signet letters*	*Others*
3 Oct.–14 Nov.	43	28	27	26	2		
15 Nov.–10 March	98	64	59	51	6	5	2
11 March–23 Apr.	66	62	42	24	17	17	4
24 Apr.–5 June	39	35	19	11	3	18	3
6–17 June	24	22	17	11	4	7	
18 June–1 Aug.	35	31	12	10		20	1
2 Aug.–29 Sept.	91	15	1			14	1
Total	396	257	177	133	32	81	11

[1] The significance of these dates is that the king came with the chancellor and the keeper to Coventry for the opening of parliament on 7 Oct.; they returned to London about 15 Nov.; in March and April the king perambulated near London, to Canterbury, St. Albans, and Windsor, and the two officers went to him from time to time; on 24 Apr. he set out for Wales leaving the officers; they were summoned when a rebellion broke out and they were with him at York for ten days in June; they then returned to Westminster and rejoined the king at Nottingham at the beginning of August; from then until the end of the sixth year they travelled with him.

[2] This column includes certificates of homage and letters seeking permission for or confirmation of ecclesiastical elections.

[3] This column includes certificates of homage.

Decayed and Non-Feudalism in Later Medieval France[1]

ILLEGITIMATED by Charles Plummer and dissected by Mr. McFarlane,[2] the 'bastard feudalism' of later medieval England is comparatively well known.[3] Though late Victorian historians thought with horror of its methods compared with the purer forms of an earlier age, essentially the function of both 'true' and 'bastard' feudalism was the same. Their purpose was the acquisition of service in return for reward. They differed only in the form of the reward and in the means employed in attempting to ensure that service was indeed done in return for it. Land ceased to be the way *par excellence* of acquiring followers; payment and sometimes mere assumption of interest supplanted it. The traditional loyalties of tenure and neighbourhood were not wholly overwhelmed; but they became perhaps more obviously mingled with loyalties engendered by power and by ability. The oath and the confirmatory document were still thought of as important in ratifying a loyalty now clearly based upon self-interest; the forms and the formulae of the earlier period remained prominent in men's minds. But the idea of homage palled; a variety of oaths and documents were more to the taste of those who swore and those who contracted; and with their aid the patrons of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries attempted to assure at least the core of that service, support and following which practical necessity and the claims of prestige demanded.

The patrons of later medieval France had no less need of service, support and following; but their attitude to the problem has not received analysis. For M. Perroy, some twenty years ago, 'contracts of retinue . . . do not seem to have existed on the other side of the Channel'.[4] But even if this were true there are enough tantalizing clues to whet one's appetite to discover some of the means by which this later medieval political society in France was put

[1] The following abbreviations have been used in giving references: ABP, Archives des Basses-Pyrénées, Pau; *AHG, Archives historiques du département de la Gironde*; AN, Archives nationales, Paris; ATG, Archives de Tarn-et-Garonne, Montauban; BN, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris; PRO, Public Record Office, London; SHF, Société de l'histoire de France.

In identifying *seigneuries* the conventions of the Berger-Levrault *Dictionnaire des Communes* (Paris, 1956) have been followed.

[2] K. B. McFarlane, 'Bastard feudalism', *ante*, xx (1943–5), 161–80.

[3] An exhaustive bibliography may be found in B. D. Lyon, *From Fief to Indenture: the Transition from Feudal to Non-Feudal Contract in Western Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 252 n. 15.

[4] E. Perroy, 'Feudalism or principalities in fifteenth-century France'; *ante*, xx (1943–5), 181.

together. It is the purpose of this article to present the results of such a preliminary investigation; and while no investigation of this subject can safely claim to be exhaustive it may at least pretend to some interest for those concerned with later medieval society both in France and in England.

To begin with that question of contract. The existence of a short-term military agreement in France has long been recognized. The existence of a 'non-feudal' agreement for life service in peace and war, a far more significant form of contract, is far less well known.[1] Admittedly its origins are obfuscated by remnants of forms more purely 'feudal'. In England the gap between the feudal contract creating a fee secured on land and the contract of service secured by indenture seems to have been crossed in one bold leap at the end of the thirteenth century. The fee secured on land was clearly essentially feudal; the contract secured by indenture equally clearly essentially non-feudal. As far as English denizens were concerned there was no stepping-stone in between. The money fee, the fee secured on an annuity, was known to the English royal chancery, though not to that of any magnate; but it appears to have been used by the Crown primarily for 'external' as opposed to 'internal' purposes.[2] In France the money fee, the *fief-rente*, was used by both king and magnates for both internal and external ends. It has, like the English indenture, been dealt with comparatively fully; its edges have been carefully defined. Even its most fragile forms, the *fief-rente* for term of life predominant in France from the thirteenth century on, the conditional *fief-rente*, may, it is argued, with propriety be called feudal.[3] But there does exist a half-world of the decayed *fief-rente* to which the description 'feudal' is almost denied. The problem is raised first by the question of the *fief-rente* for term of life created, apparently, by the grant of a lump sum.[4] Can there be a *fief-rente* without a *rente*? M. Sczaniecki did not think so; such contracts, he felt, 'appartiennent déjà à une nouvelle époque où l'on ne se soucie plus du droit et du vrai sens des institutions féodales'.[5] The shadows of this new epoch merit closer examination.

A group of some forty contracts made with Louis duc d'Orléans and his son Charles in the period 1397–1412, for instance, survives in the Archives Nationales.[6] The greater number of them were made with nobles in Germany and the Low Countries; a majority of them created straightforward *fiefs-rentes* for the term of a single life. One or two created *fiefs de reprise*: Reginald, *secundo genitus* of Juliers, for instance, surrendered on behalf of himself and his heirs a piece of property and received it again as a vassal of Louis d'Orléans.[7] Nine contracts attempted to create a fee in return for a lump

[1] Mr. Lyon deals with the military contract (pp. 254–61) but neither he nor M. Sczaniecki (*Essai sur les fiefs-rentes* (Paris, 1946)) touch more than very briefly upon the contract for term of life.

[2] Lyon, pp. 43, 32.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 61–8.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 71–9.

[5] Sczaniecki, p. 164.

[6] AN K 54, 56^{A-B}, 57^{A-B}.

[7] Undated letters, AN K 57^{A}, no. 9^{8}.

sum[1]; three of these, a hereditable fee.[2] Of these three, two provided for the return of the lump sum in case of default. But how precisely were Louis d'Orléans and his heirs to constrain Johann V herr von Reifferscheid in the Rhineland and his to return the 2,000 *francs d'or* granted to him and to pay damages for default, 'super quibus simplici verbo ipsius domini nostri Aurelianensis vel deputatorum ab ipso seu suorum heredum' was to be believed?[3] As a means of control over one's vassal this provision was, to say the least, roundabout.

All that remained in this kind of contract was initial mutual interest, an initial payment hopefully revocable and the act of fidelity and homage. The only element essentially 'feudal' was the last. And if it, too, disappeared with what was one left? On 9 July 1404 Waleran de Luxembourg, comte de Ligny and de St.-Pol, received a money fee of 6,000 *livres tournois* from Louis d'Orléans. In return, he became his man and servant and did him faith and homage. As well as this he promised him by the faith and oath of his body to help him against all men (with a few carefully defined exceptions), to preserve his interests, to warn him of trouble in store, to give him good counsel and to keep that of Louis d'Orléans secret.[4] On 23 August Edouard de Bar, marquis de Pont, promised much the same to Louis d'Orléans; he, too, received a pension of 6,000 *livres tournois*; but he did not do him faith and homage, and he did not become his vassal.[5] The chancery clerks of the duc d'Orléans endorsed Waleran de Luxembourg's letters 'Lomage monsr. de St. Pol'. They endorsed those of Edouard de Bar simply 'lettre de messr. Edouart de Bar marquis du Pont'. This distinction they were careful to preserve in their endorsement of other letters by which men became simply the *alliés*, and not the vassals, of the ducs d'Orléans.[6] In the endorsement of only one of the eight such contracts which survive did they slip up, that of Jean de La Baume in 1405.[7] But things were so confused in the matter of contracts at that time that they might well be excused.

A later hand classed all these Orléans documents as *alliances*. The term is probably best used rather more strictly, to describe documents clearly

[1] AN K 57[A], nos. 9[10, 11, 13, 15, 23, 26–31].

[2] *Ibid.*, nos. 9[11, 13, 15].

[3] Letters of 2 June 1401, *ibid.*, no. 9[11]. The provision for damages seems to rule out the possibility here of a parallel contract more purely feudal of the kind discussed by Mr. Lyon (pp. 77–9).

[4] Below, p. 178, document 1.

[5] Letters, AN K 56[A], no. 9. It is unlikely that the sentence recording homage was omitted by accident.

[6] AN K 57[A], no. 9[1]: 'Lettres de monsr. de Clicon par lesquelles il promet servir monsr. le duc dOrls. contre touz except. le roy nostresr. & monsr. le dalphin' [18 Oct. 1397]; AN K 56[B], no. 25[1]: 'Lettres du conte de Foix touch. le service quil a promis faire a monsr. le duc' [4 Apr. 1401]; AN K 57[A], no. 9[25]: 'Lettres du serement de feaulte fait a monsr. le duc dOrliens par messire Henry de Rothemberc chevalier' [20 Feb. 1405]; *ibid.*, no. 9[28]: 'Lettre de messr. Pons de Castillon par laquelle il promet service a monsr. parmi la some de C l.t. de pension quil prent chacun an de monsr.' [29 Jan. 1410].

[7] AN K 57[A], no. 9[26]: 'Lettres de lommage fait a monsr. le duc par le seigneur de La Baume' [17 Mar. 1405].

non-feudal. In that confusing period between 1397 and 1412 the ducs d'Orléans were creating money fees, fees secured by homage and a lump sum, and *alliances* in the strict sense pell-mell. The purpose of all these actions was the same. It was only the form of the contract that differed. Why one form rather than another should have been chosen is not at all clear. Some clue is perhaps given by the contracts of Bernard d'Armagnac with the successive dukes in 1403 and 1410. Of the formidable Louis d'Orléans 'Bernart conte dArmignac' became the vassal for a money fee of 6,000 *livres tournois* on much the same terms as Waleran de Luxembourg seven months later[1]; of the sixteen-year-old orphan Charles 'Bernard par la grace de Dieu conte dArmignac, de Fesen^{ac}, de Roudes et de Pardiac, viscomte de Fesen^{ac}, de Bruilles et de Creissel et seigneur dez terres de Riviere, dAure et dez Montaignes de Rouuergue' became the *allié* on equal terms,[2] exchanging practically identical letters-patent and announcing with Charles d'Orléans their *alliance* to the world in letters-patent issued under both their names.[3] Bernard d'Armagnac had not only escaped from a vassalitic subordination to a son to whom he had promised Louis d'Orléans in 1403 to do homage; in entering into the grandest form of the new contracts he had escaped from all subordination whatsoever.

The difference between the old, the 'feudal' form of contract, and the new, the 'non-feudal' form, seems to find its crux simply in the question of whether or not homage was done. This may seem utterly to lack a distinction. But in lacking that distinction it provides a crossing almost without a jar from the old world of the feudal relationship to the new world of the non-feudal: from the firmest of relationships based on land and homage to the most flexible of relationships based upon a contractual expression of mutual interest. The phrases remained the same: in the least observed of those grandest of the new contracts, the *alliances* between equals which gave diplomatic form to the manoeuvrings of the princes of France in the first half of the fifteenth century, the new *alliés* promised each other much the same services as the vassal had promised his lord.[4] The only thing that changed, essentially, was the form of the obligation. Just how far the spirit of the contract had changed, at least from that of the money fee, is another matter. The real distinction was in men's attitudes to their contractual obligations and in whether they intended to keep them, not in the form of the document in which these were enshrined.

In England the break between the old and the new was abrupt. The statute *Quia Emptores* had made difficult a relationship based upon tenure[5]; the money fee had no vogue; the indenture seemed a reasonable means of reinforcing the relationship of contracting lord and man. In France 'feudalism' was more elastic: the final insignificant fracture did not come

[1] Letters of 17 and 18 Nov. 1403, AN K 56^{B}, nos. 25$^{2\text{ and }3}$.
[2] Letters of 24 Feb. 1410, *ibid.*, no. 25^{4}.
[3] Letters of 29 Oct. 1409, 24 Feb. 1410 and Feb. 1410, *ibid.*, nos. 25$^{1, 5, 6\text{ and }8}$.
[4] Below, p. 179, document 2.
[5] T. F. T. Plucknett, *Legislation of Edward I* (Oxford, 1949), pp. 107–8.

until the end of the fourteenth century. For it is not only in the administration of Louis d'Orléans that confusion is apparent. In that of the Valois dukes of Burgundy from the middle thirteen-eighties on, a flight from the purely feudal is equally evident.[1] But it is perhaps to the administration of the comté de Foix and the vicomté de Béarn that we should turn for our clearest picture both of the end of the old and of the new. For when Archambaud de Grailly comte de Foix and his two sons, the future Jean I de Foix and Gaston captal de Buch, became the servants of Louis d'Orléans in 1401,[2] the sort of contract into which they entered had long been known in the south-west.[3]

On the roll of the army which mustered at Morlaas in August 1376, addressed as 'dear friends', wooed with blandishments of honour and vague promises by the formidable Gaston III Fébus comte de Foix, were 161 'valedors de Mossenhor qui no son soos sosmes': the 'supporters' of Gaston Fébus 'who are not his subjects'.[4] Of the obligation of one at least of these men we may be quite clear. Gaillard de Lamothe had contracted to become the 'companhoo & alliat' of Fébus on 11 December 1375 and his contract survives on the register of the notary-general of Béarn.[5] No such document seems to exist in the earliest remaining register of the notary-general, for 1347–9[6]; no document of this straightforward kind appears before this contract in the second surviving register, which begins in 1371; no such document seems to survive in the Trésor des chartes de Pau. The nature of the obligation of the other 160 *alliés* of Gaston Fébus in 1376 will probably have to remain dark. But the nature of the obligation of a number of his *alliés* after 1376 and of many others of the *alliés* of his successors as comtes de Foix and vicomtes de Béarn need not remain obscure.

The origins of the non-feudal *alliance* in Béarn are probably safely enough placed in the time of Gaston Fébus. The first surviving contract seems to be that made with a group of Commingeois *seigneurs* in January 1375.[7] The original form of document seems to have been letters-patent recording

[1] See below, p. 173.

[2] Letters of 4 Apr. 1401, AN K 56[B], no. 25[1].

[3] The earliest such contract known to me is that by which the unfortunate Guillaume Sans seigneur de Pommiers promised to serve the father of the ultimate cause of his downfall, Arnaud Amanieu sire d'Albret, on 13 May 1358 (his condemnation in 1377 by the Court of Sovereignty of Guyenne (PRO E 101/181/6) is printed, from a copy, in *AHG*, xxvi (1888–9), 149–63): below, p. 180, document 3. The next surviving contract is apparently that between Bertrand seigneur de Montagut in the Agenais and Jean I comte d'Armagnac of 26 July 1370: below, p. 181, document 4.

[4] 'Rôles . . . de l'armée rassemblée . . . par Gaston Phoebus, comte de Foix (1376–78),' *AHG*, xii (1870), 141, 167–73.

[5] Below, p. 181, document 5.

[6] ABP III E 857.

[7] Register of the notary-general of Béarn, ABP E 302 fo. 94 r–v; printed by P. Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus et la vicomté de Béarn, 1343–91* (Bordeaux, 1960), pp. 354–5.

both sides of the contract, a copy of which was held by each of the parties to it.[1] This form continued to have a limited popularity[2]; and, indeed, under Archambaud de Grailly the mechanism of the indenture was used briefly as a vehicle for it.[3] A number of simpler forms appeared in the thirteen-eighties[4]; but the document which finally emerged triumphant as the main means of expressing the Foix *alliances* was the letter-patent, issued under a single name and seal, usually but not always recording a counter-promise to the *allié* by the comte, exchanged with the comte for one in which his obligations were presumably more fully and those of the *allié* perhaps more succinctly recorded. The earliest surviving example of this kind of document in its full form seems to be that in which Arnaud Roger de Comminges made public his obligations to Jean I de Foix in 1413.[5] A considerable number of them survive for the period before 1445.[6] There are slight variations in form; but their proliferation gives good ground for a diplomatic of the sort of relationship which they enshrine.

The *fief-rente* was, of course, well known in Foix-Béarn as elsewhere; and there was, again, a considerable amount of similarity between the duties imposed upon the *vassal* and those imposed upon the *companhon*, *aliat*, *servidor* or *valedor*.[7] But never, except possibly in one rather curious

[1] The document quoted above, p. 161, n. 7, takes this form as do letters of Bertrand de Lamothe seigneur de Bruch and de Clermont, of 19 Nov. 1380 (Register of the notary-general of Béarn, ABP E 304 fo. 30 r–v).

[2] *Alliances* of Nompar I seigneur de Caumont, with Mathieu de Castelbon comte de Foix, below, p. 182, document 6; of Beaumont d'Astarac with Jean I comte de Foix, 4 March 1412, in ABP E 424; of Jean bâtard d'Astarac his brother, 20 Apr. 1415, endorsed upon his brother's contract; of Guillaume Ramon seigneur de Caumont, 29 Aug. 1417, in ABP E 427; of Jean de Lamothe seigneur de Castelnau de Mesmes and de Noaillan, 26 May 1421, in ABP E 429; of Nompar II seigneur de Caumont, 30 July and 12 Aug. 1428, in ABP E 434; of Jean de Lamothe seigneur de Castelnau de Mesmes, with Gaston IV comte de Foix, 11 July 1436, in ABP E 438.

[3] Indentures of Ramon Roger de Comminges with Archambaud de Grailly and Isabelle de Foix, 11 Sept. 1398; and of Guillaume Arnaud de Lamothe seigneur de Roquetaillade with Archambaud de Grailly, 18 Sept. 1398, in ABP E 416.

[4] On 3 Sept. 1380 the notary-general of Béarn recorded that 'lo noble mossr. Ar. Guill., senhr. de Sent Blancat cauzer prometo & jura sus lautar de Sent Martij en leglisie de Pau seruir "& adjudar" a mossr. lo comte contre totz homjs exceptat soos senhors, du tuut la vite deudit mossr. lo comte' (ABP E 304 fo. 25r). For other transient forms of the same decade see *ibid.* fos. 77v, 79r, 82r, 84r.

[5] Below, p. 183, document 7. On 8 Sept. 1413 Guilheis Unaut de Lanta seigneur de 'Mausac', had made a contract in this form with Jean I comte de Foix; but it omits two important clauses (in ABP E 425).

[6] In ABP E 425, 427–9, 432, 434, 435, 437–9. Numbers by years, including renewals: for 1413, 3; 1414, 1; 1415, 1; 1418, 1; 1420, 2; 1421, 1; 1422, 5; 1423, 1; 1424, 2; 1425, 4; 1426, 5; 1427, 4; 1428, 1; 1429, 1; 1431, 5; 1432, 3; 1434, 3; 1436, 4; 1437, 1; 1438, 9; 1439, 3; 1440, 1; 1441, 1; 1444, 1.

[7] The text recording the grant of a *fief-rente* printed by Tucoo-Chala, pp. 361–2, is typical of a number to be found in the registers of the notary-general of Béarn, ABP E 302 and 304.

case,[1] were the terms which implied vassality allowed to become anything other than completely distinguishable from those which implied *alliance*; never was the formal difference between the manners of their obligation allowed to become blurred. The precise form of homage was regarded as stereotyped in Béarn[2]; and the precision of the common form was carefully observed.[3] Although some of the ritual of homage took place at the making of one or two of the earlier contracts[4] it appears to die out at least of the documents recording them. The oaths which accompanied the *alliance* in Foix-Béarn seem to have been distinct from those which accompanied homage.[5] The reign of Gaston Fébus seems again to have been the period of experiment[6]; but it was the common oath upon the Gospels that won in the end. Other

[1] The indenture of Guillaume Arnaud de Lamothe seigneur de Roquetaillade of 18 Sept. 1398 in ABP E 416 is endorsed, 'Carta de Guilhem Ar. sr. de Rochatalhade dijt lo homj de La Mota cum ses feyt homi de mosar. lo comte per ij^{o} floris darrenda que eg la promes de dar cascun an a la festa de Totz Santz'. His contract with Jean I comte de Foix of 2 Aug. 1422 in ABP E 432 is endorsed 'Liansse de lomj de La Mota'. The insistence upon the title of Guillaume Arnaud de Lamothe seems to point at least to its being unusual.

[2] The forms of homage in Béarn do not seem to have changed very radically between the late 1300s and the early 1400s (see those recorded in ABP E 300, 302, 304, 314 and 321). Of the documents recording them the notary-general of Béarn noted simply 'fiat in forma juxta cursum generale[m] &c' (ABP E 302 fo. 4v), 'fiat in bona forma juxta cursum generalem' (*ibid.* fo. 9v), 'fiat in forma &c' (*ibid.* fo. 75v), 'fiat in forma' (ABP E 304 fo. 3r), 'sie feites segont lestil comu de las cartes deus homenatges' (*ibid.* fo. 33v).

[3] Of a homage taken on 24 Feb. 1376 the notary-general noted 'fiat in bona forma juxta cursum excepto osculo & fo lo sus "sus" "[en Crotz *crossed out*] los Santz Euuangelis de Diu" [en vn breujari "en abscencie de missau & de Crotz" *crossed out*]' (ABP E 302 fo. 131r).

[4] Gaillard de Lamothe in 1375 obliged himself 'tocan sa maa dextre en la maa deudijt mosar. de Foixs e baisan en sa boque' (below, p. 182, document 5); Ramon Roger de Comminges vicomte de Couserans and Archambaud de Grailly comte de Foix 'sen toquan la j a lautre ab lors maas dretas e sen baysan en lors bocas' (indenture of 11 Sept. 1398 in ABP E 416).

[5] Again there are a few exceptions: the contracts of Ramon Roger de Comminges vicomte de Couserans of 11 Sept. and of Guillaume Arnaud de Lamothe seigneur de Roquetaillade of 18 Sept. 1398 were made 'sus lo libre missau e la Crotz benedite desus lo Te igitur pausada' (indentures in ABP E 416); those of Huc vicomte de Caraman and his eldest son Jean of 22 Sept. 1427 (letters in ABP E 434) and of the sefior de Gavin and his sons of 6 Sept. 1434 and of 18 Aug. 1436 (letters in ABP E 437 and 438) were made upon the Cross and the *Te igitur*.

[6] Guillaume Sans seigneur de Pommiers swore to Bernard Ezi II in 1358 upon an altar (below, p. 180, document 3); and so did Arnaud Guillaume seigneur de St.-Blancard to Gaston Fébus on 3 Sept. 1380 (ABP E 304 fo. 25r) and a number of other seigneurs (on a number of different altars) to Fébus in the 1380s (*ibid.* fos. 28r, 33r, 82r, 84r). Bertrand de 'St.-Artemie' of Quercy promised 'sus la fee de son cors & sus pene destre faus & mauuat & sus totes las penes que hom li poyra metre sus' and swore upon the altar of the chapel of Orthez castle on 2 Jan. 1389; Jean de 'Chombile' of Quercy promised and swore on the *Te igitur* as well as on the Gospels on 12 March 1389 (letters in ABP E 412).

forms of promise and oath appeared later[1]; but they did not shake the pre-eminence of the *Saints-Evangiles*.[2]

The comtes de Foix expected from their *alliés* much the same sort of general agency and informal intelligence service as they and others had expected from their vassals.[3] And in their general obligation of this kind to their lord the *alliés* of the comtes de Foix stood to him much as the retainers in England of, for instance, Lord Hastings in the fourteen-seventies, who promised 'to be unto him faithful and true servant[s] and to do him faithful, true and diligent service and his part to take against all men',[4] stood to theirs. And much as most of the Hastings indentures had a more or less strong military flavour so did most of the Foix *alliances*.[5] Some contracts were more specific than others on the question of harbouring, of payment for harbouring and of payment for the *allié*'s own contingent in the comte de Foix's service[6]; but most were content to leave the question of obligation in war, like that of obligation in peace, in general terms. In their obligation in turn to their retainers the comte de Foix and Lord Hastings again matched very closely. As Lord Hastings promised Henry Willoughby in 1477 'to be his good, loving and favourable lord and him aid, help, succour and sup-

[1] For example: upon God: Gaillard de Durfort (letters of 17 Sept. 1414, in ABP E 425 and of 17 Aug. 1436, in ABP E 348), a unique example; 'sus ma bone fe cum a leyau caualer': Arnaud Roger de Comminges (below, p. 183, document 7); 'sus pene destre faus et maubat': Nompar seigneur de Caumont (letters of 30 July and 12 Aug. 1428, in ABP E 434); 'sur la foy et serement de mon corps et sur mon honneur': Aymerigon seigneur d'Estissac (below, p. 183, document 8); 'sur ma part de Paradis': Pierre de Louvain (letters of 13 Nov. 1438, in ABP E 438). The last four oaths were used in Foix-Béarn only to reinforce those upon God or the Gospels. Cf. the oaths taken by some of the Hastings retainers in England (W. H. Dunham jr., 'Lord Hastings' indentured retainers 1461–83', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xxxix (1955), 48).

[2] Although proctors could negotiate and swear on their principals' behalf to observe the conditions of the contract, ratification and an oath in person seem to have been usual: an *alliance* made in Apr. 1415 by the proctors of Bertrand seigneur de Montferrand, for instance, was sworn to by him upon the Gospels on 31 July (letters in ABP E 427). In the case of Nompar de Caumont's *alliance* with Mathieu de Castelbon comte de Foix in 1394 a proper seal was regarded as important (below, p. 182, document 6) but a number of cases of a borrowed seal occur: Jean de 'Chombile' on 12 March 1389, for instance, borrowed that of his fellow-Quercynois the seigneur de Puycornet (letters in ABP E 412). There appear to have been no rules about signature or about witnesses.

[3] See, for instance, the obligations of Aymerigon d'Estissac (below, p. 183, document 8).

[4] Indenture of Henry Willoughby of 28 Feb. 1478 (Dunham, *ubi supra*, p. 129).

[5] Payment for harbouring occurred mainly in documents of the 1430s; see, for instance, the contract of Aymerigon d'Estissac (below, p. 183, document 8). The contract arranged by the proctors of Bertrand seigneur de Montferrand in 1415 stipulated that Jean I de Foix should pay 'audiit sr. de Monferran et assas gens qui menera los guages aixi cum fare aus autres sons aliatz' (letters of 19 Apr. 1415, in ABP E 427). Payment seems in fact to have been so normal a thing since at least the time of Gaston Fébus (see the arrangements for payment in 1376, 'Rôles de l'armée', *AHG*, xii. 142) that not much mention was made of it.

port in all his matters according to the law',[1] so Gaston IV de Foix, according to Pierre de Louvain, promised him 'de soccourer et aydier, se besoing me faisoit, selon semblant seigneur que vous estez doit soccourir et aydier assemblable alie & serviteur que je suis'.[2] There is an echo here from an earlier age[3]; but good-lordship was not confined to England.

But, admittedly, unlike the Hastings indentures (and more, indeed, in conformity with the general run of English contracts) a minority of the Foix *alliances* provided for more specific reward. For the grander of the comte de Foix's clients the contemplation of the ancient friendship shown and honour done by the comital house to theirs may have been, as they claimed,[4] reason enough for them to continue in that relationship with him; others possibly needed to be attracted with lures more substantial. Pensions seem to have been given throughout the period covered by the surviving contracts, from Beaumont d'Astarac's annuity of 200 *florins béarnais* in 1412[5] to François de Montferrand's of 200 *francs bordelais* in 1440.[6] In 1431 Bernard Aubert of Roussillon received 'la rende & emolmentz apperthientz a la baronie de Castelbielh estiem de La Marque en Penedes qui bos me auetz donat a tote ma vite'.[7] A lump sum was occasionally given, again throughout the period: that of 1,800 *moutons* granted to Jean vicomte d'Uzès in 1431[8] remained capped by one of 2,000 *écus* given in 1429 to Jean comte d'Astarac on top of a pension of 500 *florins aragonais*.[9] But, on the whole, the nature of the client's interest, like that of the lord, was left in general terms. The *alliés* of the comtes de Foix knew what their duty was; and when they in turn claimed his 'amparance, protection, socors, ajude e deffensse',[10] they knew what they required of his good-lordship. Further reward was hardly necessary, for instance, for those who followed Jean I to court in 1425. For Jean Roger de Comminges seigneur de Tarride,[11] or for Jean comte d'Astarac,[12] the profits of good-servantship were obvious to all.

But did the *alliés* of south-west France incur that stigma of infidelity which characterized the retainer in England? Was the characteristic of the non-

[1] See p. 164, n. 4.

[2] Letters of 13 Nov. 1438, in ABP E 438.

[3] See, for instance, the obligations of Gaston Fébus to his vassal the seigneur de Curton (Tucoo-Chala, p. 361).

[4] As, for instance, did Arnaud Roger de Comminges (below, p. 183, document 7).

[5] Letters of 4 March 1412, in ABP E 424.

[6] Letters of 29 March '1439' (= 1440?), in ABP E 438.

[7] Letters of 2 Sept. 1431, in ABP E 435.

[8] Letters of 27 Aug. 1431, *ibid.*

[9] His heir was to return the 2,000 *écus* to Jean I's heir if he failed to keep the *alliance* (letters of 28 March '1428' (= 1429?) in ABP E 434).

[10] Letters of Jeanne de Voisins dame de Mirepoix and de Lagarde, as guardian of Philippe de Lévis-Mirepoix her son, of 5 Sept. 1418, in ABP E 428.

[11] *Alliance* with Jean I comte de Foix, 15 Dec. 1413, in ABP E 425; pension of 1,000 *livres tournois* from the Crown, 15 Dec. 1425 (G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII* (Paris, 1881–91), ii. 119 n. 3).

[12] *Alliance* with Jean I comte de Foix, 18 June 1423, in ABP E 432; gift of 2,000 *livres tournois* from the Crown, 1 Dec. 1425 (Du Fresne de Beaucourt, ii. 119).

feudal contract in France, too, a disrespect for irrefrangibility?[1] Some clauses in the documents creating the Orléans *fiefs-rentes* might allow one to doubt that of the last feudal form of contract. 'Pierre sire de Cronebec & de Neufchastel', for instance, was quite prepared to serve Louis d'Orléans against those to whom he had previously done similar homage or of whom he held in fee; he simply wanted to be indemnified for any damage this infidelity might cause.[2] As an *allié* of Charles d'Orléans, Jean comte d'Alençon was equally prepared to disregard any *alliances* that he might have with his dearly beloved brother the duke of Brittany.[3] But the breach of an *alliance* might in principle be actionable at law: one made between Louis II duc de Bourbon and Humbert seigneur de Villars in 1402 offered the latter a remarkable though perhaps not unusual list of courts ecclesiastical and secular in which a case concerning it might be brought.[4] Yet a royal command could in principle at least dissolve an *alliance*: in this way Charles VI attempted to annul a web of magnate contracts in 1412[5]; in this way he attempted to annul the obligations of Agne III de La Tour seigneur d'Olliergues in 1413 and attach him to himself.[6] And an *allié* could be released from his oath by an ecclesiastical relaxation: Bernard d'Armagnac comte de Pardiac and Jean I de Foix promised each other that such relaxation should be null in their *alliance* of 1432.[7] But at least it was felt necessary that such tiresome manoeuvres should be gone through. When François de Montferrand seigneur d'Uza was in the process of arranging a contract with Gaston IV de Foix in 1440 he had to promise to release himself from an anterior *alliance*

[1] McFarlane, *ubi supra*, pp. 174 ff.

[2] Letters of 21 Apr. 1401, AN K 57[A], no. 9[9].

[3] Letters of 26 Feb. 1411, *ibid.*, no. 1[6].

[4] 'Et a voulu & vuelt ledit monsr. le duc estre compelli et contraint par les cours, juridicions & compulsions de lempereur de Rome, du roy nostre sr., de la chambre du pape, du petit seel de Montpellier & de toutes autres cours espirituelles & seculieres que ledit monsr. de Villars vouldra eslire, & par chascune dicelles conjonctement ou particulierement, a tenir, garder & acomplir les choses dessusdictes; et quant a ce a soubamis & obligie lui & ses biens, terres & seignories quelxconques a la cohercion desdictes cours & juridicions & de chascune dicelles; et voulu que par lexecution de lune lautre ne soit empeschee ou retardee' (letters of 18 Aug. 1402, AN P 1391[1], cote 529). The contract of Archambaud de Grailly and his sons with Louis d'Orléans (cited above, p. 161) was made specifically obliging their goods, as were, amongst the Foix *alliances*, those of Jeanne de Voisins (cited above, p. 165, n. 10) and of Nompar II de Caumont of 21 May 1439 (letters in ABP E 438; cf. ABP E 319 fos. 113v–114v).

[5] Letters of 22 Aug. 1412, AN K 57[B], no. 20 (printed in *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, ed. L. Douët d'Arcq (SHF, Paris, 1863–4), i. 352–3, hereafter referred to as Douët d'Arcq). The *alliances* of the Orléans princes with the English were renounced the following day (letters of the duc d'Orléans, AN K 57[B], no. 22; of the comte de Vertus, *ibid.*, no. 21).

[6] Agne III had become the *allié* of Jean I duc de Bourbon on 28 May 1413 (letters, AN P 1358[3], cote 588[(11)]). He was released also 'pour ceste foix et quant a ce cas tant seulement' from any tie of liege homage (letters of 11 Nov. 1413, AN R[2] 3, no. 68).

[7] Letters of 7 July 1432, in ABP E 435; printed by L. Flourac, *Jean I comte de Foix* (Paris, 1884), pp. 295–8.

with Charles II d'Albret.[1] One could not be entirely informal in one's treachery.

The *alliances* of the comtes de Foix were normally made for life: that is, no shorter term is ever mentioned. But renewal of the *alliance* after the death of the party on either side was far from uncommon. Aymerigon d'Estissac, the *allié* of Jean I in 1425,[2] became the *allié* of his son Gaston IV in 1439;[3] and he was by no means alone in his fidelity.[4] The interest of the patron's heir could be protected in an *alliance*;[5] and an *allié* could promise in turn the service of his. A contract made by the seigneurs de Duras, de Lesparre and de Montferrand with Archambaud de Grailly as captal of Buch in 1394 was made for themselves and for their sons.[6] The son of the seigneur de Duras ratified it with Jean I de Foix in 1414, made another *alliance* with Gaston IV in 1436 and in 1440 promised to have it ratified by his son in turn when he reached a proper age.[7] In the same way the contract with the seigneurs de Montferrand was ratified and renewed in 1415 and in 1429.[8] The house of Caumont seems to have served that of Foix as steadily from at least 1394 onwards as those of Durfort and Montferrand.[9] The pious preambles of the grander clients were thus not wholly without content; and the stability of some of their relationships with the comtes de Foix does not seem to be doubtful.

Fidelity and infidelity was not in any case a matter of stark black and white. The *alliance* had inherited from the *fief-rente* a capacity for being conditional. A considerable number of sovereign *seigneurs*, patrons, friends and relations could live together in all amity in the loyalty of a client; it was simply a matter of establishing the precedence of their claims upon his

[1] Letters of 29 March '1439' (= 1440 ?), in ABP E 438.

[2] Letters of 12 Sept. 1425, in ABP E 432.

[3] Below, p. 183, document 8.

[4] Similar renewal of *alliance* was made by Jean de Lamothe seigneur de Castelnau de Mesmes (letters of 11 July 1436), Gaillard de Durfort seigneur de Duras (letters of 17 Aug. 1436), Guirault Avarcha señor de Gavin and his three sons (letters of 18 Aug. 1436), Jean Roger de Comminges vicomte de Couserans (letters of 4 Jan. 1438, in ABP E 438), Jean Dacx seigneur de 'Brutalhs' (letters of 13 Oct. 1438, in ABP E 322), Nompar seigneur de Caumont (letters of 21 May 1439, in ABP E 438); Etienne de Vignolles *dit* La Hire (letters of 4 March 1441, in ABP E 439).

[5] Pierre de Louvain, for instance, promised to serve for the term of his life both Gaston IV de Foix and his heir (letters of 13 Nov. 1438, in ABP E 438).

[6] Referred to (without date) in letters of Gaillard de Durfort of 17 Sept. 1414, in ABP E 425; dated 26 Aug. 1394 in those of Bertrand de Montferrand's proctors and of Jean I de Foix, both of 19 Apr. 1415, in ABP E 427; dated 26 Aug. 1393 in letters of Jean I de Foix of 26 Aug. 1429, in ABP E 434.

[7] Letters of 17 Sept. 1414, in ABP E 425, of 17 Aug. 1436 and of 28 March '1439' (= 1440 ?), in ABP E 438.

[8] Letters of Bertrand de Montferrand's proctors and of Jean I de Foix, cited above, n. 6.

[9] Its service can be traced through letters of Nompar I de Caumont of 11 May 1394 (below, p. 182, document 6); of Guillaume Ramon II de Caumont of 29 Aug. 1417, in ABP E 427; of Nompar II de Caumont of 30 July and 12 Aug. 1428, in ABP E 434 and of 21 May 1439, in ABP E 438.

affections. In their contracts the *alliés* of the comtes de Foix, like the *alliés* of other magnates, made regular provision for excepting such anterior interests. They could thus quite properly, according to the terms of their contracts, serve against their new lord; or they could contract particularly to stand neutral in any conflict between him and another to whom they owed an older loyalty. Pes seigneur de Puyloaut, for instance, excepted from his *alliance* with Jean I de Foix in 1431 the king of England, duke of Guyenne and the seigneur de Lescun; and he agreed to stand neutral in any conflict between the sire d'Albret and the comte de Foix.[1] If loyalties overlapped at least some attempt was made formally to arrange for the settlement of discord between them.

Multiple loyalty, of course, posed its problems; but, paradoxically, some of these arrangements again display the tenacity of previous agreements. Jean Ferran seigneur de Mauvezin and his sons, Amanieu de Lana and the seigneur de Xaintrailles were amongst the thirty-odd 'adherens, companhons et servidors' in the Bordelais and the Bazadais of Charles I d'Albret and his mother in 1407.[2] Amanieu de Lana seigneur de Causiede became the *allié* of Jean I de Foix in May 1422, Bernard Ferran seigneur de Mauvezin the *allié* of Jean I a month later and Jean seigneur de Xaintrailles the *allié* of Jean I in September 1426.[3] All were careful to except Charles II d'Albret from their *alliances*. In these cases at least a relationship had withstood a death on one or both sides and had survived nearly twenty years. And in the opposite direction, as it were, Nompar II de Caumont was careful to except Jean I de Foix in his *alliance* with Charles II in January 1428.[4] He may not even have been Jean I's *allié*: Guillaume Ramon II de Caumont his father had become the servant of Jean I in 1417 but Nompar's *alliance* with him was not made until July and August 1428; and it was renewed with Gaston IV in 1439.[5] We should perhaps be careful of underestimating the amount of stability of relationship which these contracts reflected in the south-west.

Doubtless one would be rash to assert the complete irrefrangibility of contracts of *alliance*. But a large number of them were made freely; self-interest, at least at the time of their making, must have been consulted; the conflicting pull of major and minor interests could be accommodated; and those made between magnates and local *seigneurs* in the areas in which their

[1] Letters of 14 June 1431, in ABP E 435.

[2] 'Trève accordée par le sénéchal de Guyenne aux seigneurs du Bordelais et du Bazadais, qui tiennent le parti du seigneur d'Albret (22 avril 1407),' *AHG*, vi (1864), 220.

[3] Letters of 29 May and of 19 June 1422, in ABP E 432; of 14 Sept. 1426, in ABP E 434.

[4] Letters of 12 Jan. 1428, in ABP E 62.

[5] Letters cited above, p. 167, n. 9. He had, admittedly, been 'norri' by Jean I and had entrusted his lands to him before his departure on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1419 (Brit. Mus., Egerton MS. 890, fo. 81; printed by le marquis de La Grange, *Voyaige d'oultremer ou Jhérusalem par le seigneur de Caumont l'an MCCCCXVIII* (Paris, 1858), p. 9).

influence was greatest had *prima facie* a chance of survival. It was with such local *seigneurs* that the majority of the Foix *alliances* was made. The *alliés* mustered at Morlaas in 1376 had come from Bigorre, from the Basque coast and Navarre, from the *prévôté* of Saint-Sever, from the Carcassès, from the Agenais, from Astarac, from L'Isle-Jourdain, from the Bordelais, from the Toulousain and from the Lauragais[1]; and this firmly eclectic habit of mind remained characteristic of the comtes de Foix. Their clients were chosen for their usefulness and without regard for the wavering frontier of sovereignty.

Those members, for instance, of the houses of Montferrand,[2] Durfort[3] and Caumont[4] who were, according to the surviving contracts, the most loyal *alliés* of the comtes from Gaston III to Gaston IV were at the same time amongst the main props of the English régime in Guyenne to the very end.[5] Gaillard III de Durfort seigneur de Duras who mustered at Morlaas in 1376[6] was seneschal of Aquitaine for the English between 1399 and 1415.[7] Gaillard IV de Durfort his son who contracted with Jean I in 1414 and with Gaston IV in 1436[8] was *prévôt* of Bayonne from 1423,[9] *sénéchal* of the Landes for the English in 1434.[10] Nompar I de Caumont, the *allié* of Mathieu de Castelbon in 1394,[11] was *sénéchal* of the Agenais for the English in 1399.[12] Bertrand II seigneur de Montferrand, baron of the duchy of Aquitaine,[13] the *allié* of Gaston Fébus and of Archambaud de Grailly,[14] was *sénéchal* of the Landes in 1401[15]; and François de Montferrand seigneur d'Uza and de Belin, his younger son, who contracted with Gaston IV in 1440,[16] was *sénéchal* of the Landes two years later.[17] He and Jeannot his son

[1] 'Rôles de l'armée,' *AHG*, xii. 167–73.

[2] Seigneurs de Montferrand [Gironde, ar. Bordeaux, c. Carbon-Blanc, com. Bassens]; A. Communay, *Essai généalogique sur les Montferrand de Guyenne* (Bordeaux, 1889), pp. xvi–xlix.

[3] Seigneurs de Duras [L. & G., ar. Marmande, ch.-l. c.] and Blanquefort [Gironde, ar. Bordeaux, ch.-l. c.]; J. Faure, *Précis historique sur la famille de Durfort-Duras* (Marmande, 1858), pp. 31–47.

[4] Seigneurs de Caumont [L. & G., ar. Marmande, c. Mas-d'Agenais].

[5] R. Boutruche, *La Crise d'une société: paysans et seigneurs du Bordelais pendant la guerre de Cent ans* (Paris, 1947), pp. 79–80.

[6] 'Rôles de l'armée,' *AHG*, xii. 170.

[7] Indenture of appointment, 23 Dec. 1399 (PRO E 101/68/6/148); E. M. J. G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia regia* (Paris, 1942–61), nos. 13451, 13453.

[8] Letters cited above, p. 167, n. 7.

[9] T. Carte, *Catalogue des rolles gascons, normans et françois* (1743), i. 205; *Foedera . . .*, ed. T. Rymer (The Hague, 1740), IV. iv. 94 (hereafter referred to as Rymer).

[10] Dupont-Ferrier, no. 13863.

[11] Below, p. 182, document 6.

[12] Carte, i. 182; indenture of appointment, 18 Feb. 1400 (PRO E 101/69/2/302).

[13] Carte, i. 192.

[14] 'Rôles de l'armée,' *AHG*, xii. 171; letters cited above, p. 167, n. 6.

[15] Dupont-Ferrier, no. 13859.

[16] [Uza, Landes, ar. Dax, c. Castets; Belin, Gironde, ar. Bordeaux, ch.-l. c.]. Letters of 29 March '1439' (= 1440 ?), in ABP E 438.

[17] Dupont-Ferrier, no. 13865.

who shared his *alliance* were, with Gaillard IV de Durfort, amongst the comparatively few to suffer in the final débâcle of 1453.[1] But it was not only the great in Guyenne who sought the patronage of the comte de Foix: Pes de Puyloaut,[2] whose forebear had mustered at Morlaas in 1376 and whose *seigneurie* in the Landes was turned into a barony in 1448[3]; Sampson de Montbrun,[4] *bailli* of Bazas in 1423,[5] *castellan* of Gamarde in 1430–8,[6] are two of the better-known of a group of minor *seigneurs* from the far west who were *alliés* of the comtes from the reign of Gaston Fébus on.[7]

A list precisely similar of loyal adherents of France is easily drawn up. Jean de Bonnay, *sénéchal* of Toulouse from 1414 until he died in office in 1439, captain general in Guyenne in 1425,[8] became the *allié* of Jean I in 1426.[9] Naudonet de Lustrac, the *allié* of Jean I in 1432,[10] was captain in the period 1428–57 of a number of places in the south-west, *sénéchal* of the Agenais and Gascony for Charles VII in 1435–42, in 1437 an *écuyer de l'écurie du roi*.[11] Bernard Ferran seigneur de Mauvezin, *chevalier chambellan*

[1] Jeannot de Montferrand probably died in England ('Enquête sur les seigneurs de Fronsac (18 juin 1483)', *AHG*, xiii (1871–2), 89). The names of some 40 emigré nobles are known (A. Peyrègne, 'Les émigrés gascons en Angleterre (1453–1485)', *Annales du Midi*, lxvi (1954), 115).

[2] Letters of 14 June 1431, in ABP E 435.

[3] 'Rôles de l'armée,' *AHG*, xii. 169; Carte, i. 232.

[4] Letters of 12 Oct. 1438, in ABP E 438; described as 'de Gosse [Landes, ar. Dax, c. Montfort-en-Chalosse] en la senescaucie de las Lanes'.

[5] Carte, i. 204.

[6] Gamarde-les-Bains, Landes, ar. Dax, c. Montfort-en-Chalosse; Carte, i. 211, 216, 218.

[7] 'Rôles de l'armée,' *AHG*, xii. 168–72; letters of Bertrand de Lamothe seigneur de Bruch [L. & G., ar. Nérac, c. Lavardac] and de Clermont [Clermont-Dessous, L. & G., ar. Agen, c. Port-Ste.-Marie] of 19 Nov. 1380, ABP E 304 fo. 30r–v; of Guillaume Arnaud de Lamothe seigneur de Roquetaillade [Gironde, ar. & c. Langon, com. Mazères] of 18 Sept. 1398, in ABP E 416 and 2 Aug. 1422, in ABP E 432; of Jean de Lamothe seigneur de Castelnau de Mesmes [Gironde, ar. Bazas, c. Captieux, com. St.-Michel de Castelnau] and de Noaillan [Gironde, ar. Langon, c. Villandraut] of 26 May 1421, in ABP E 429 and 11 July 1436, in ABP E 438; of Arnaud Guillaume seigneur de Poyanne [Landes, ar. Dax, c. Montfort-en-Chalosse] of 15 March 1424, in ABP E 432; of Jean seigneur de Xaintrailles [L. & G., ar. Nérac, c. Lavardac] of 14 Sept. 1426, in ABP E 434; of Jean Dacx seigneur de 'Brutalhs en la senescaucie de las Lanes' of 22 Jan. 1432, in ABP E 435 and of 13 Oct. 1438, in ABP E 322; of François seigneur de Grammont [in Navarre], de Mussidan [Dordogne, ar. Périgueux, ch.-l. c.] and de Blaye [Gironde, ch.-l. ar.] of 3 Nov. 1434, in ABP E 437 and 24 July 1436, in ABP E 438; of Pes seigneur de St.-Martin-de-Seignanx [Landes, ar. Dax, ch.-l. c.] and of Guillaume Arnaud seigneur de 'Bedorede et deu Poey en Goosse' [Gousse, Landes, ar. Dax, c. Montfort-en-Chalosse] of 12 Oct. 1438, of Guixarnaut vicomte de 'Hurens en la senescaucie de las Lanes' of 13 Oct. 1438, in ABP E 438.

[8] Dupont-Ferrier, nos. 21412, 13423[4], 13798.

[9] Letters of 25 Oct. 1426, in ABP E 434.

[10] Letters of 1 Aug. 1432, in ABP E 435. For Naudonet de Lustrac see P. Laplagne-Barris, 'Naudonnet de Lustrac', *Revue de Gascogne*, xviii (1877), 297–311; G. Tholin, 'Notes sur deux seigneurs de Lustrac', *ibid.*, pp. 494–7.

[11] Dupont-Ferrier, nos. 31, 250, 367, 410, 18858.

of Charles VII,[1] *allié* of Jean I in 1422,[2] was *sénéchal* of the Bazadais for the French in 1425[1] and the grantee in the same year of the *seigneurie* of Clermont-Dessous, confiscated forty years earlier from Bertrand de Lamothe seigneur de Bruch and de Clermont, in 1380 the *allié* of Gaston Fébus and now on the English side.[3] The affinity of the comtes de Foix was above the struggles of French and English, though its individual members might not be.

But if they did their duty as well as enhancing the military strength of the comtes de Foix they carried the comtes' political influence westward into the Landes and the Bordelais, northward to the Garonne and beyond into Quercy and Périgord,[4] eastward into the plain of Languedoc,[5] even over the mountains into Spain.[6] But it was not only with such useful local figures[7]

[1] [Mauvezin, Gers, ar. Condom, ch.-l. c.]. Dupont-Ferrier, no. 2894 *bis*.

[2] Letters of 19 June 1422, in ABP E 432.

[3] *AHG*, viii (1866), 236; for Bertrand de Lamothe see above, p. 170, n. 7.

[4] Bertrand de 'Sent Artemie' [on 2 Jan.], Jean de 'Chombile' and Guillaume d'Orgueil [T. & G., ar. Montauban, c. Grisolles] [on 12 March], squires of Quercy, made *alliances* with Gaston Fébus in 1389 (letters in ABP E 412); Gaston de Gontaud seigneur de Biron en Périgord [Dordogne, ar. Bergerac, c. Monpazier] with Jean I on 17 Dec. 1421 (letters in ABP E 429); Bertrand Despratz seigneur de Montpezat-de-Quercy [T. & G., ar. Montauban, ch.-l. c.] on 30 Sept. 1424, Marques de Gordon seigneur de 'La Bercantiere en Quercij' on 12 Feb. 1425, Jean seigneur de Puycornet [T. & G., ar. Montauban, c. Molières] on 19 Apr. 1425 (letters in ABP E 432); Aymerigon seigneur d'Estissac en Périgord [Dordogne, ar. Périgueux, c. Neuvic] on 12 Sept. 1425 (letters *ibid.*) and with Gaston IV on 7 July 1439 (below, p. 183, document 8); Mondot de Brusac 'du pays de Pierregorc' with Gaston IV on 12 Feb. 1439 (letters in ABP E 438).

[5] 'Rôles de l'armée', *AHG*, xii. 172–3; Jeanne de Voisins made an *alliance* with Jean I on 5 Sept. 1418 as guardian of her son Philippe de Lévis seigneur de Mirepoix [Ariège, ar. Pamiers, ch.-l. c.] and de Lagarde [Ariège, ar. Pamiers, c. Mirepoix] (letters in ABP E 428); Jean de Brueres seigneur de Chalabre [Aude, ar. Limoux, ch.-l. c.] on 23 July 1427 (letters in ABP E 434); Jean vicomte d'Uzès [Gard, ar. Nîmes, ch.-l. c.] on 27 Aug. 1431 (letters in ABP E 435). From the Toulousain: Ramon Caparas seigneur de 'Molijs en Tholsaa' (letters of 28 Oct. 1432, *ibid.*) and Jacques Ysalguier seigneur de Fourquevaux [H.-G., ar. Toulouse, c. Montgiscard; see P. Wolff, 'Les Ysalguier de Toulouse', *Mélanges d'histoire sociale*, i (1942), 35–58] (letters of 18 May 1436, in ABP E 438).

[6] Bernard Aubert of the diocese of Elne [P.-O., ar. Perpignan] in Roussillon made an *alliance* with Jean I on 2 Sept. 1431 (letters in ABP E 435); 'Guiralt Auarca senhor de la honor de Gauin' and his three sons on 6 Sept. 1434 (letters in ABP E 437) and with Gaston IV on 18 Aug. 1436 (letters in ABP E 438); Galceran VI Galceran de Pinos (see J. Serra Vilaro, *Baronies de Pinos i Mataplana* (Barcelona, 1930–50), i. 229–43) on 8 Oct. 1444 (letters in ABP E 439).

[7] *Alliances* with even more local nobles were common; with those of Astarac, for instance ('Rôles de l'armée,' *AHG*, xii. 170–1); *alliances* of Jean seigneur de 'La Mazere en Estarac' (of 19 Oct. 1380, ABP E 304 fo. 281); of 'Brunoo de Montelhs dEstarac' (of 7 Jan. 1381, *ibid.* fo. 331); of Beaumont d'Astarac (letters of 4 March 1412, in ABP E 424); of Jean bâtard d'Astarac (of 20 Apr. 1415, noted on the dorse of his brother Beaumont's letters); of Jean 'par la gracie de Diu' comte d'Astarac (letters of 18 June 1423, in ABP E 432, of 22 July 1428 and of 28 March '1428' [= 1429?], in ABP E 434 and of 13 May 1431, in ABP E 435); of Jean d'Astarac

that contracts of *alliance* were made. So national a pair of heroes as Poton de Xaintrailles[1] and 'Esteben de Binholes dijt La Hire de la terre dAuribag'[2] might have their local connexions but the notorious Pierre de Louvain of Velay[3] or the even more notorious Rodrigo de Villandrando[4] hardly had; and such servants around the dauphin Louis as Amaury seigneur d'Estissac[5] and Jean de Daillon seigneur de Fontaines[6] clearly belonged to another world. Their duty primarily was, as their contracts stipulated, the maintenance of the comte de Foix 'en la bonne grace & amour du roy mon souverain seigneur et de mondit sr. le daulphin'.[7] As well as the civil servants and the *routiers*, the courtiers were brought into the affinity.[8] In the same way Olivier de Clisson contracted with Louis d'Orléans in 1397.[9] But the grander courtiers like the rising Pierre de Brézé in 1445 contracted with the magnates on equal terms.[10]

With the contract between equals one enters perhaps fully into that other world of high and at times even international politics. Such arrangements are notorious enough and, apart from providing a useful comparison with the

seigneur de 'Montclaa' (letters of 3 Jan. 1438, in ABP E 438); and with nobles of Couserans (*alliances* of Ramon Roger de Comminges vicomte de Couserans (letters of 11 Sept. 1398, in ABP E 416); of Arnaud Roger de Comminges, his brother (below, p. 183, document 7); of Jean Roger de Comminges seigneur de 'Tarride', his son (letters of 15 Dec. 1413, in ABP E 425) and as vicomte de Couserans, seigneur de 'Tarride' (letters of 4 Jan. 1438, in ABP E 438)). Bernard bâtard de Comminges made an *alliance* with Jean I comte de Foix on 20 May 1420 (letters in ABP E 429); Ramon de Comminges and Ramon At seigneur du Fauga [H.-G., ar. & c. Muret] 'caualer en Comenge' *alliances* with him on 18 May 1422 (letters in ABP E 432).

[1] L. & G., ar. Nérac, c. Lavardac; letters of 14 Sept. 1426, in ABP E 434.

[2] Auribat, Landes, ar. Dax, c. Montfort-en-Chalosse; letters of 22 Sept. 1425, in ABP E 432 and of 4 March 1441, in ABP E 439 (printed in *Histoire de Gaston IV, comte de Foix, par Guillaume Leseur*, ed. H. Courteault (SHF, Paris, 1893–6), ii. 291–2).

[3] Letters of 13 Nov. 1438, in ABP E 438. For Pierre de Louvain see P. Champion, *Guillaume de Flavy* (Bibliothèque du xv[e] siècle, i, Paris, 1906), pp. 92–111.

[4] Letters of 9 Apr. 1439, in ABP E 438 (printed by J. Quicherat, *Rodrigue de Villandrando* (Paris, 1879), pp. 319–20).

[5] Letters of 12 Sept. 1425, in ABP E 432 and below, p. 183, document 8. For Aymerigon d'Estissac see *Lettres de Louis XI*, ed. E. Charavay and others (SHF, Paris, 1883–1909), i. 365–7; Dupont-Ferrier, no. 17600.

[6] Letters of 22 Apr. 1444, in ABP E 439. For Jean de Daillon see *Lettres de Louis XI*, iv. 94–8.

[7] Below, p. 183, document 8. Jean de Daillon promised the cardinal and the comte de Foix 'a eulx et a chacun deulx porchassier aveq mondit sr. le dauphin et autrement tout le bien et honneur que je pourray et les entretenir en sa bonne amour et grace a tout ma possibilite' (letters cited above, n. 6).

[8] Other 'courtier' *alliés* who contracted in this way were Pierre comte de Beaufort vicomte de Turenne (letters of 2 Oct. 1426, in ABP E 434) and John Stuart, constable of the Scottish army in France (letters of 26 Jan. 1427, *ibid.*).

[9] Letters of 18 Oct. 1397, AN K 57[A], no. 9[1]. Louis d'Orléans' counter-letters of 28 Oct. 1397 are *ibid.*, no. 9[2].

[10] Letters of 18 May 1445, in ABP E 440 (printed by Courteault in *Histoire de Gaston IV*, ii. 308–9. The word omitted on p. 309 line 5 is 'meure').

contracts between unequals, are clearly irrelevant to our discussion of French patronage and clientage in the later middle ages. So far we have seen that the 'contract of retinue' did exist and we have seen something of its nature and use. But it was not the only means by which a lord could attempt to secure service beyond that which might be provided by an older feudal nexus.

The English administration in Guyenne,[1] for instance, and in all probability the Valois dukes of Burgundy seem to have avoided the *alliance*.[2] The military indenture, the contract for a limited period of military service, was certainly used in Guyenne: a number of *seigneurs* from the Bordelais, the Agenais and the Landes, for instance, who mustered at Morlaas for Gaston Fébus in August 1376 served the next summer by indenture with the English.[3] But when the English administration felt the need to reinforce the insecure loyalty of Gascons it seems to have done so with grants of office and with pensions[4]; and these seem again to have been the principal means by which Philippe le Hardi and Jean sans Peur attempted to attract their supporters.[5]

Apart, perhaps, from seats on the council in Guyenne, the offices disbursed to *seigneurs* by the English administration were, though lucrative, primarily local. A French magnate had, as well as these, all the honours of a not inconsiderable court with which to woo his servants. Louis seigneur de Montjoye was retained the *conseiller* and *chambellan* of Louis d'Orléans as well as taking a *fief-rente* from him in 1404[6]; Jean de La Baume became his *allié* when he became Louis' *chambellan* and took from him the collar of his Order in 1405.[7] In 1355 Pierre I duc de Bourbon retained Guillaume de Bourbon 'de nostre hostel et maisnage' in a letter the terms of which are

[1] The only contract at all comparable which has so far come to light seems to be that in which Jean seigneur de Grammont promised 'bona fe & fideutat' to Henry IV on 24 Sept. 1409, on marrying the heiress of Mussidan and Blaye ('Chartularium Henrici V et Henrici VI regum Angliae', BN ms. latin 9134, fo. 66v, printed *AHG*, xvi (1878), 161).

[2] Though one or two of the Burgundian contracts cited by B.-A. Pocquet du Haut Jussé, 'Les pensionnaires fieffés des ducs de Bourgogne de 1352 à 1419', *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands*, viii (1942), 146, seem to me remarkably like *alliances*.

[3] 'Rôles de l'armée,' *AHG*, xii. 168, 170–2. Indentures of the seigneurs de Duras, de Rauzan [Gironde, ar. Libourne, c. Pujols], 31 May 1377; de Lesparre, de Doazit [Landes, ar. Dax, c. Mugron], 1 June 1377; de Montferrand, de Langoiran [Gironde, ar. Bordeaux, c. Cadillac], 2 June 1377; d'Ornon et d'Audenge [Gironde, ar. Bordeaux], the captal de Buch, 3 June 1377 (PRO E 101/181/4/11, 9, 4, 14, 1, 12, 10, 7); payment for service (counter-roll of Richard Rotour constable of Bordeaux, PRO E 101/181/3 m. 1r–m. 2r). The short-term contract was, of course, known to the comtes de Foix (see, for instance, those made in the period 1391–7, in ABP E 415).

[4] Boutruche, pp. 350–3.

[5] Pocquet, *ubi supra*, pp. 127–50.

[6] Letters of 18 Aug. 1404, AN K 57[A], no. 9[24].

[7] Letters of 17 March 1405, *ibid.*, no. 9[26]. 'Henricus de Rothemberch miles, Barolis curie magister', also became a *chambellan* and member of the Order of Louis d'Orléans as well as his *allié* on 20 Feb. 1405 (*ibid.*, no. 9[25]).

rather similar to those of an English indenture.[1] A glance at the nominal roll of the household say of Jean duc de Berry provides one with ample evidence of the attraction into it of 'hommes de la haute noblesse originaires, soit des pays donnés au duc en apanage, soit d'autres régions'[2]; and similar evidence, though perhaps not so overwhelmingly, would be provided by that of the household of any magnate worth the name. Waleran de Luxembourg and Edouard de Pont had both, for instance, been retained of the household of Philippe le Hardi duc de Bourgogne six years before they made, a few months after Philippe's death in 1404, their contracts with Louis d'Orléans; and Waleran de Luxembourg was to become a member of Jean sans Peur's council two years later.[3]

The purpose of such retaining was only too clearly political; but it was not only local magnates who might be so retained. Those who carried out the central administration of a great estate, those whose duty it was to guide it through the thickets of interminable lawsuits, the civil servants and the lawyers too had their place in the account-books. Any magnate worth the name had his chancellor, his secretaries, his treasurers, his councillors, even his *maîtres des requêtes*[4]; he had his advocates and *procureurs* in every court from Paris to Rome.[5] Jean I Juvenel was one of the *conseillers* in the *Parlement* of Paris of Louis d'Orléans and of Valentine Visconti duchesse d'Orléans after his death[6]; his son Jean II Juvenal des Ursins (though he protested later he had served no man but the king)[7] the *conseiller* in the *Parlement* of Poitiers in the fourteen-twenties of their son Charles.[8] Feed, too, might be men useful eventually in more subtle ways: Jean Petit, the author of the notorious defence of Jean sans Peur's murder in 1407 of Louis d'Orléans, was retained Jean's *conseiller* at 100 *livres tournois* a year in 1406.[9] A Jean de Terre-Vermeille, who it is not inconceivable was the author of the treatise *Contra rebelles suorum regum*[10] of about 1420, took an eight-*livre*

[1] Below, p. 184, document 9. For later Bourbon contracts see below, p. 176, n. 6.

[2] R. Lacour, *Le Gouvernement de l'apanage de Jean duc de Berry 1360–1416* (Paris, 1934), p. 144. The nominal roll of the household occupies pp. vii–xiv of Annexe II.

[3] Pocquet, *ubi supra*, p. 146.

[4] Lacour, pp. 158–74; Annexe II, pp. xiv–xviii.

[5] Pocquet, *ubi supra*, pp. 140–4. An advocate or proctor was of course retained by many people; it is difficult to give such retaining much political content.

[6] Warrant by Valentine duchesse d'Orléans for payment of pensions to Jean I Juvenel and Guillaume Cousinot, 28 Feb. 1408, BN Pièces originales 1593, doss. Juvenel, no. 4.

[7] '... Mon souverain seigneur, jay este tousjours a vous et non a aultre, sans fleschir, ne oncques de seigneur particulier, quelquil soit; ne eulx don ne proffit, ne requis a avoir': Jean Juvenal des Ursins, 'Verba mea auribus percipe, Domine', BN ms. fr. 2701, fo. 86ra.

[8] Warrant by Charles duc d'Orléans for payment of pensions to 'Jehan Jouvenel le jeune, advocat' and others, 15 Aug. 1422, BN Pièces originales 1593, doss. Juvenel, no. 9.

[9] Pocquet, *ubi supra*, p. 147.

[10] *Joannes de Terra Rubea contra rebelles suorum regum*, ed. J. Bonaud (Lyon, 1526).

pension from Bernard VII d'Armagnac in 1407–8[1]; it would be pleasant to think he was Armagnac in more senses than one.

Pensions and offices seem to have gone together: the majority of pensions given by the first two Valois dukes of Burgundy, like many of those given by the Crown,[2] were effectively subventions to the wages of officers. A survey made by the officials of the *Chambre des comptes* of Dijon in February 1397 of the pensions then being paid by Philippe le Hardi does not reveal many that could possibly not have been so given[3]; and the scanty financial material that survives for the administration of the comtes d'Armagnac[4] gives much the same impression. The casual annuity,[5] though not the casual gift, seems possibly more difficult to find in later medieval France than in later medieval England.

But the balance is redressed by the abundance in France of those spectacular but hopeful means of collecting members of an affinity: the chivalric Order. The *Pomme d'or*,[6] the *Ecu d'or*,[7] the *Ecu vert à la dame blanche*,[8] the *Fer de prisonnier*,[9] the *Porc-épic*,[10] the *Dragon*,[11] the *Croissant*,[12] the *Hermine*,[13] the *Toison d'or*,[14] all at some time in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries adorned various parts of the persons of those whom magnates wished to attract. Some of these Orders lasted longer than others:

[1] Account of Jean de Castres, receiver of Creissels and Roquefeuil, 1407–8, fo. 25r, in ATG A 172.

[2] See, for instance, a list of some 700 pensioners of Louis XI, BN ms. fr. 2900, fos. 7r–16v. I hope eventually to publish a full analysis of this text.

[3] BN ms. fr. 4603.

[4] Primarily local accounts, in ATG A. It is possible, of course, that pensions were paid out of a central receipt.

[5] A number appear to have been given by Louis I duc d'Anjou king of Sicily in 1382–3 (*Journal of Jean le Fèvre*, ed. H. Moranvillé, i (Paris, 1887), pp. 35–46 *passim*); but it is difficult to be certain that these were not nominally attached to offices, as a number given at the same time were explicitly.

[6] A. Jacotin, *Preuves de la maison de Polignac* (Paris, 1898–1906), ii. 172–3; A. Bossuat, 'Un ordre de chevalerie auvergnat; l'ordre de la Pomme d'or', *Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne*, lxiv (1944), 83–98.

[7] *La Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. A. M. Chazaud (SHF, Paris, 1876), pp. 8–15; P. Dumont, 'L'ordre de l'Ecu d'or', *Bulletin de la Société d'émulation du Bourbonnais*, xxvi (1923), 46–9.

[8] *Le Livre des faicts du bon messire Jean le Maingre, dit Boucicaut*, ed. J. F. Michaud and J. J. F. Poujoulat (Nouvelle collection des mémoires, ii, Paris, 1857), pp. 255b–257b.

[9] Douët d'Arcq, pp. 370–4. For a challenge by this group which seems to indicate that Douët's text should be antedated see the article cited below, n. 11.

[10] A. Favyn, *Le Théâtre d'honneur* (Paris, 1620), i. 730 ff.

[11] 'Une devise de chevalerie inconnue, créée par un comte de Foix? Le *Dragon*,' *Annales du Midi*, lxxvi (1964), 77–84.

[12] *Oeuvres complètes du roi René*, ed. T. de Quatrebarbes (Angers, 1844–6), i. 51–75.

[13] Guillaume de St.-André, *Histoire de Jean IV*, ed. dom H. Morice, in *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* (Paris, 1742–6), ii, cols. 356–7.

[14] *Chronique de Jean Le Fèvre*, ed. F. Morand (SHF, Paris, 1876–81), ii. 210–54.

the comte de Foix's Order of the *Dragon* is unknown save for its statutes, the Burgundian Order of the *Toison d'or* endured for centuries. How much stability they might give to their members' relationship with their lord seems doubtful[1]; though undoubtedly they were seen as the most scintillating proof of a person's adherence to a particular magnate.[2] Equally fragile, perhaps, as fragile indeed as the contract between equals of which it was in fact only a variant, was the agreement of brotherhood in arms for noble as opposed to businesslike purposes. Thomas duke of Clarence in a letter written in his own hand (in creditable French) promised Charles d'Orléans in 1412 'destre vray & bon parent, freer, compaygnon darmes & amy'[3]; Charles comte d'Eu promised him much the same in 1413[4] and Pierre de Brézé obliged himself to Gaston IV de Foix in 1445 'ainsi et tant comme la ung frere adoptif et darmes se puet obliger de droit a laultre'.[5] But this, it may be argued, hardly added much to their *alliances*.

As far as the more formal methods of creating a relationship were concerned, though the feudal contract in the later middle ages seems to have had more validity in France, the pattern of 'non-feudalism' emerges much as in England in the later middle ages: of the nucleus of the affinity in the familiars, the officers, the courtiers around a magnate, who might or might not have entered into their relationship with him by formal contract; and of the outer circle of the *alliés* in the country and the *alliés* in the court, bound to the magnate by their *alliances*. More shadowy are the simple pensioners, though they certainly existed; and more shadowy still the simple hangers-on and well-wishers. There are no Paston Letters for France; this intimate world in its more private actions is forever closed to us. Its activity and its size were probably at their greatest when magnates felt most nearly the need for support: as in England when, in the reigns of incompetent kings, it was every man for himself. In Gascony it was every man for himself perhaps rather more persistently than elsewhere. It may have been this that accounts for the proliferation of the Foix *alliances*; more likely, perhaps, it is the chance of survival. But when stress hit them other magnates turned to this convenient means of gaining support[6]; even, for instance, the dauphin Louis in

[1] Bossuat, *ubi supra*, p. 96.

[2] François de Surienne, for instance, in Jean Juvenal des Ursins' eyes was 'tenant le parti des Anglois, portant lordre du roy dAngleterre, son conseillier et chambellan' ('Verba mea auribus percipe, Domine', BN ms. fr. 2701, fo. 92rb).

[3] Letters of 14 Nov. 1412, AN K 57[B], no. 29; printed by Douët d'Arcq, p. 359.

[4] Letters of 27 July 1413, AN K 57[A], no. 1[r].

[5] Letters of 18 May 1445, in ABP E 440; printed by Courteault in *Histoire de Gaston IV*, pp. 308–9.

[6] Jean I duc de Bourbon, for instance, sent the seigneurs de La Fayette and de La Forest contracting with *seigneurs* in Auvergne in 1413 (letters in AN P 1355[2], cote 90; P 1358[1], cotes 500–1, 512; P 1358[2], cotes 528, 562[1 and 2], 583, 588[1] and [2], 592; P 1374[1], cote 2314. The *alliance* of Pons de Langeac *sénéchal* of Auvergne, of 5 June 1413 (AN P 1355[2], cote 90) is printed in *Spiciligium Brivatense: Recueil de documents historiques relatifs au Brivadois et à l'Auvergne*, ed. A. Chassaing (Paris, 1886), pp. 491–2. For the incident in general see A. Leguai, *Les Ducs de Bourbon pendant la crise monarchique du xve siècle* (Paris, 1962), pp. 74–7. An *alliance* of

1452.[1] But to attempt a geography of the *alliance*, or even a chronology of it, would be a risky business.

The political effects of such a patronage system seem again to have been much the same as in England. M. Perroy has adumbrated the results of the conflicting claims of members of different seigneurial administrations to public place[2]: a magnate had his duties as well as his privileges of service. But what seems to be utterly lacking is much public comment upon the system. The giving of livery[3] certainly occurred in France; the construction of affinities was clear enough. The mechanism of complaint was less free-working in France than in England; but no representative institution seems to have complained about household or *alliés*. Perhaps the evils that their more riotous members might do paled before those done by more regular soldiery, enemy, friendly or free. And the abuse of maintenance like that of livery seems, if it existed, to have passed unnoticed. No *ordonnance* of a king of France seems to have dealt with either. The royal council held by the duc de Guienne ordered the breaking of certain magnate *alliances* in 1412[4]: and the great military *ordonnance* of 1439, which forbade private companies,[5] might, if any notice had been taken of it, have been interpreted as forbidding the military provisions of an *alliance*; but they, too, seem never to have been attacked direct. The seneschals of Aquitaine and of the Landes were ordered on 21 March 1433 to prevent any of the subjects of the king of England's accepting fees or wages from the comtes de Foix and d'Armagnac, or from allying themselves with them by oaths or *alliance*, as long as they remained on the French side.[6] This did not stop François seigneur de Grammont, de Mussidan and de Blaye from making an *alliance* with Jean I comte de Foix in November 1434[7] nor a number of other Gascons with his

Guillaume de Chalençon bishop of Le Puy, Armand vicomte de Polignac and Louis de Chalençon seigneur de Beaumont with Charles comte de Clermont, made on 23 June 1428, survives in AN P 1373[1], cote 2199; printed by Jacotin, ii. 258. An *alliance* of Rodrigo de Villandrando with the comte de Beaufort vicomte de Turenne of 27 Jan. 1433 survives in AN K 63, no. 22; printed by Quicherat, p. 244.

[1] *Alliance* of the prince of Piedmont with the dauphin Louis, 13 March 1452, *Lettres de Louis XI*, i. 227–8.

[2] Perroy, *ante*, xx. 184–5.

[3] C. Enlart, *Manuel d' archéologie française*, iii, *Le Costume* (Paris, 1916), pp. 401–9. On 17 Oct. 1409 Jean de Montagu was executed 'vestu de sa livrée, d'une houppelande de blanc et de rouge, et chapperon de mesmes, une chauce rouge et l'autre blanche' (*Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris 1405–1449*, ed. A. Tuetey (Soc. de. l'hist. de Paris, 1881), p. 6). The bourgeois of Rouen about 1424 were not at liberty to wear 'la livrée ou devise d'aucun seigneur ou autre qui s'en plaingne' (*Rouen au temps de Jeanne d'Arc et pendant l'occupation anglaise (1419–1449)*, ed. P. Le Cacheux (Soc. de l'hist. de Normandie, Rouen, 1931), p. 60). In the 1430s and 1440s Charles duc d'Orléans authorized a large number of persons to wear his 'order' (BN ms. Clairambault 1241, pp. 693–711).

[4] Letters of 22 Aug. 1412, AN K 57[B], no. 20.

[5] Du Fresne de Beaucourt, iii. 402–9.

[6] Rymer, IV. iv. 192.

[7] Letters of 3 Nov. 1434, in ABP E 437.

son later.[1] If they fell into desuetude after about 1450[2] was it because they were no longer needed rather than because they were forbidden? But how did magnates get their support in the reign of Louis XI, which was for them no less a time of stress than those of Charles VI and Charles VII? The *alliance* between equals survived[3]; and perhaps some day some contracts between lord and man will come to light. Or had they become unfashionable and a different basis of relationship arisen?

But if this article has succeeded only in indicating the place of the *alliance* in the more domestic politics of later medieval France it will have served its purpose. There was a non-feudal contract for life service in later fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France and it played much the same part in bolstering up the relationship of lord and servant as it played in England. Its origins were less abrupt than in England, more obfuscated by that most decayed of feudal forms, the money fee for term of life; but it can undoubtedly be distinguished from it. Such a distinction was made by the chancery clerks of the ducs d'Orléans; such a distinction was clearly apparent to those who drew up the roll for the muster at Morlaas of the army of Gaston Fébus comte de Foix in 1376. For some hundred years (though this figure must be tentative) the *alliance* seemed to *seigneurs* in France their most hopeful means of securing service beyond that provided by their tenure. There was, essentially very little difference between it and the *fief-rente* for term of life; that difference subsisted in the absence of homage in the *alliance*, the absence of subjection. One was a companion, an ally, a supporter, even a servant of one's lord: one was not his subject, nor his vassal. It is perhaps this avoidance of an idea that provides the most fascinating, if not the most important, result of an excursion into the formal structure of political society in later medieval France.

P. S. Lewis

APPENDIX[4]

I

(*Endorsed:*) Lomage monsr. de St. Pol. (*9 July 1404*)

Nous Waleran de Lucembourc conte de Liney & de Saint Pol faisons savoir a tous presens & avenir que nous, considerans le devoir en quoy nous sommes

[1] See above, p. 167, notes 4, 7, 9, p. 169 n. 16, p. 170 notes 4 and 7.

[2] The latest *alliance* known to me, apart from that made by the dauphin Louis in 1452 (see above, p. 177, n. 1), was made by Gaillard IV de Durfort with Charles II d'Albret on 13 Dec. 1451 (letters in ABP E 65; printed in *AHG*, viii (1866), 296–7 from a copy).

[3] *Alliance* between the princes of the *Bien public* and Charles d'Anjou comte du Maine, 3 Sept. 1465 (*Ordonnances des rois de France*, xvi, ed. C. E. de Pastoret (Paris, 1814), p. 387 n. b); cf. *Documents historiques inédits*, ed. J. J. Champollion-Figeac (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, ii, Paris, 1843), pp. 384–5.

[4] In printing these documents modern practice has been followed in the use of capital letters and in punctuation (except in the use of accents and of the apostrophe). In the documents in French modern practice has also been followed in the use of the letters *i* and *j*, *c* and *t*, *u* and *v*. In the documents in Gascon the letters *i* and *j*, *v*, *b* and *u* have been reproduced as they appear in the manuscript.

tenus damer, honnorer & servir mon tresredoubte seigneur, monseigneur le duc dOrliens. . ., tant a cause de prochainnete de lignage quil a au roy mon souverain seigneur, de qui il est frere germain et par consequent le plus prochain de la couronne apres messeigneurs ses enfans, comme par le lignage en quoy nous lui povons appartenir; et aussi pour lez biens, honneurs et amours que esperons trouver en lui a noz affaires & besoignes touchans & regardans nostre honneur & estat, et que aujourdui il nous a de sa grace & liberale voulente ordonne prenre & avoir des deniers de ses finances la somme de six mil livres tournois de pension doresenavant chacun an par la main de son tresorier general: de nostre certaine science & propre mouvement sommes aujourdui devenu & devenons son homme & serviteur et lui avons fait foy & hommage. Et avecques ce, pour le grant desir & affection que nous avons a mondit seigneur dOrliens, lui avons promis & promettons par ces presentes par la foy & serement de nostre corps servir, aidier & adherer envers & contre tous ceulx qui pueent vivre ne morir, exceptez le roy mon souverain seigneur et monseigneur le daulphin son ainsne filz et messrs. les ducz de Berry & de Bar, desquelz nous tenons les contez de Liney & de Saint Pol (touteafoiz nous nentendons ne ne voulons qui soit entendu lexception que nous faisons a nozdiz seigneurs de Berry & de Bar que en desservant noz fiez en gardant leur seigneurie dont nozdiz fiez sont tenuz & non autrement); et que le bien & honneur de mondit seigneur dOrliens nous garderons & son dommage escheverons de tout nostre povoir; et sil avenoit que aucuns se voulsissent efforcier de porter deshonneur ou dommage a mondit seigneur dOrliens de nostre povoir y resisterons en le lui mandant & faisant savoir hastivement; se conseil nous demande bon & loyal nous lui donrrons, & se le sien nous revelle nous[1] le celerons. En tesmoing de ce nous avons fait sceller ces lettres du seau de noz armes, le ixe jour de juillet lan de grace mil quatrecens & quatre.

Par monseigneur le conte. Vasseur.

[Parchment, sealed on a tag. AN K 56^A^ no. 8.]

2

Alliance *of Jean I comte de Foix and Jean bâtard d'Orléans, comte de Périgord, 14 January 1434.*

Nous Jehan bastart dOrliens conte de Pierregorc savoir faisons a touz qui ces presentes verront que, comme vraye amour et unite soyent sur toutes choses plaisans a Dieu et perfection de bien, attendans aussi le grant bien qui par le moyen de bonne amistance et concorde entre nous et honnoure seigneur, messire Jehan conte de Foix et de Bigorre nostre parrin, puent venir au roy nostre souverain seigneur, a son royaume et subgez, que de tout nostre cuer amons et desirons a lonneur de Dieu et au bien du roy nostredit souverain seigneur, de ses royaume & seigneurie: de nostre certaine science & agreable voulente avons aujourduy pour et par ces presentes faisons avec mondit sr. de Foix et parrin bonne, ferme, aimable et loyalle amistance, ligue et confederation, a durer a touz les temps de noz vies, a lencontre de toutes personnes du monde de quelque estat ou condition quilz soyent, exceptez monsr. le duc dOrliens et monsr. le conte dAngolesme, a qui je suis frere, ou cas touteafois que la chose les toucheroyt en

[1]There is an erasure at this point in the MS.

leur propre chief, fait et querelle, autrement non; et avons jure & promis, promettons et jurons a Dieu nostre createur sur les Sans Evangiles & vraye Croix pour ce par nous touchez et par les foiz & serementz de nostres corps & sur nostre honneur & loyaulte que de ce jour en avant nous serons a mondit sr. de Foix et parrin bon, parfait et loyal parent, ami et allie, et aurons ses amis pour amis et ses ennemis pour ennemis, sauves les personnes dessus exceptees. Item jurons comme davant que nous ayderons, conseillerons, conforterons, & soccourrons[1] nostredit parrin de nostre personne, gens et biens et par toutes autres voyes et manieres a nous possibles en tout ce quil aura a faire de nous et quant requis en serons, soit pour noz propres guerres ou afferes, se aucunes nous en seurviennent, & autrement. Item que nous garderons en toutes choses le bien, honneur, estatz, droiz, preheminenses, offices de mondit sr. & parrin que pour le temps present thient et pour le temps advenir pourroyt tenir, ses libertez, noblesses, prerrogatives & prouffit; et contre ceulx qui les vouldroyent empescher, diminuer ou mettre en autre subgection en quelque maniere que ce feust et y contresterons, resisterons et les deffendrons, ayderons & secourrons de tout nostre povoir. Item jurons come dessus que le bien, honneur, utilite, prouffit et bien advenir dessa personne et son estat nous vouldrons, pourchasserons, procurerons et garderons et le deshonneur, mal, peril et dommaige dessa personne nous escheverons & destourberons et de tout nostre povoir y obvierons et contresterons; et sil advenoit, que Dieu ne vueille, que aucun ou aucuns de quelque estat ou condition quilz soyent les tractaissent, procurassent ou pourchassassent, incontinent quil sera venu a nostre cognoissance le plus trestost & certainement que poussible nous sera en adviserons et le ferons savoir a mondit sr. de Foix & parrin. Item que se de cy en avant faisons ou fermons aucunes alliances, ligues ou confederations avecques aucun seigneur ou autre de quelque estat quil soit, serons tenu de excepter et excepterons mondit sr. et parrin. Item nosdit Jehan bastart avons promis & jure, promettons & jurons derechief sur les seremens dessusdits et sur peine destre reputez faulx & perjures et soubz obligation de touz noz biens presens et advenir tenir, garder et complir et faire toutes les choses dessusdictes et chacune dicelles, sans contradiction, dissimulation, dilation ou excusation aucune et sans fiction, fraude ou mal engin quelzconques; et non venir au contraire directement ou indirectement, publiquement ou occultement, pour quelconque cause ou raison que ce soit, et soubz lobligation davant dicte. En tesmoing de toutes les choses dessusdictes & chacune dicelles nous avons fait seeler ces presentes du seel a noz armes et signees de nostre propre main, a Bourges en Berry le xiiij^{e} jour de janvier lan de grace mil quatrecentz trente troys.

[*signed*:] J. b[as]tart dOrleans.

[Parchment, sealed on a tag. ABP E 437, unnumbered.]

3

Alliance *of Guillaume Sans seigneur de Pommiers with Bernard Exi II sire d'Albret, 13 May 1358.*

Conoguda causa sia que lo dicmenge apres la festa de Sent Nicholau destiu, so es assaber lo tretzen jorn deu mes de may en lan de nostressenhor mil CCC sinquanta & huyt, regnand Edward rey dAncglaterra & duc de Guiayna, Amaneu

[1] MS. 'soccourrrons'.

archibesque de Bordeu, en la presencia de min notari public & deus testimonis deius escruitz, lo noble & poderos barou & senhor mossen Guilhem Santz, cauoy, senhr. de Pomers, estant en la cappera Sent Greguori deus Carmes, apperada de la La, disso que vertat era que lo noble & excellent senhor mossen Bern. Edz senhr. de Lebrit laue feyt saenarreyre grans bens & grans plasers, per losquaus ed lera tengut totz temps seruir & adiudar; per que lodeyt senhr. mossen Guilhem Santz juret sobre lautar & sobre lo messau & sobre la Crot que ed sera ab lodeyt senher de Lebrit & ab son primier filh hereter de lostau de Lebrit, tant cum lodeyt senhr. mossen Guilhem Santz viura, & ladiudera de guerra encontra totz los homes deu mon, exceptat contra lo rey dAncglaterra. Deuquau segrament & causas dessusdeytas, lodeyt senhr. mossen Bern. Edz requero a min notari deius escruitz que lenffessi carta o cartas tantas cum mesters len seren, lasquaus jo las autreyey affar de mon offici. En testimoniatge de lasquaus causas & a maior fermetat daqueras lo medis senhr. de Pomers meto & pauset son propri saget en pendent; loquau saget mes o no mes, pausat o no pausat en aquesta present carta, la medissa carta escongua & demore en sa entegra & ferma valor, ayssi & artant be cum si lodeyt saget y ppende & y apparisse. Acta fuerunt hec 'Burdegale' in dicta cappella die, anno, mense & regnantibus quibus supra. Testes sunt lo noble home mossen Ramon de Farguas, cavoy, senhr. de Monteton, los sains et hondratz senhors mossen Guilhem de Cunhous, archidiaque de Vasatz, fray Guilhem Bern. de Laclaustra, comandayre de Roquabruna de lordre de Jerusalem, mestre Raynaud deus Claus, bachaler en decretz, mossen Menaud Deguaus, prestre et rector de las Clotas, fray Pey Guiot deu combent deus Frayres Menutz de Bordeu et Pey de Poyana donzet, et io Ayquem deu Poyau, clerc, notari public deu duguat de Guiaynes, qui cesta carta audi, recebuy, escriby e mon senhau acostumat y ppausey.

[Parchment, sealed on a tag, seal gone. ABP E 37, unnumbered.]

4

Alliance *of Bertrand seigneur de Montagut en Agenais with Jean I comte d'Armagnac, 26 July 1370.*

Acordat es entre nos, Johan per la grace de Diu comte dArmanhac, de Fezensac e darRodes, bescomte de Lomanha et dAutuillar, e mi, Bertran senhe de Montagut en Agennes, las causas que senseguen.

Primierament que jo, senhe de Montagut auantdit, prometi et juri aus Sans Euuangelis de Diu de seruir bien e leyalment lodit mosr. lo comte dArmanhac encontra totas personas ab qui pogos auer a far per guerra o autrament, exeptat lo rey de Fransa nostre sr. o lo duc de Guyaine o comte dAgennes o mos oncles germas o mos cosis germas.

E nos, comte dArmanhac dessusdit, recebem lodit senhr. de Montagut en nostre companho e li prometem que si per aquesta causa auguna persona lo faze o faze far guerra nos laiudaram o lo defeneram cum nostre propri e especiau companhon, e li daram per si aperalha iij^{C} franx daur, deusquaus li faram pagar la meytat presentment e lautra meytat a la Totz Sens.

En testimoni daquestas presentas conuenesas nos auem pausatz nostres propris sagetz en las presens, feyt fo asso a Moissac lo xxvj jorn de jul, lan mil CCC seputanta.

[Parchment, sealed on two tags. ABP E 243, unnumbered.]

5

Reference to the alliance *of Gaillard de Lamothe with Gaston III Fébus comte de Foix, 11 December 1375.*

. . . e volo que ladicte carte de submissiou sie trencade & anullade, ab aixi empero que lodijt mossr. Galhard aqui medixs se fo companhoo & alliat deudijt mossr. de Foixs; el prometo & sobliga, tocan sa maa dextre[1] en la maa deudijt mossr. de Foixs e baisan en sa boque, sus la fee de son cors & en pene deste faus e maubat caualer,[2] que dassi auant eg seruira audijt mossr. de Foixs dauant & contra totz los autres senhors deu mon, exceptat soos dretz senhors deusquaus es subiet & terre thient aujorndeoey. E de las causes dessusdictes losdijtz mossr. de Foixs dune part, e mossr. Galhard de La Mote dautre, requerun & volon sengles cartes de vne tenor. Feit so en lo casteg de Pau lo xj jorn de Decembr. lan m CCC lxxv. Testes son desso los nobles barou mossr. P. de La Mote, senhor de Roquetalhade, mossr. Pelegri Daute, cavalers, Siotes de Sent Arromaa, donzel e jo, B. de Luntz, etc. que la carte retengu.

[Register of the notary-general of Béarn, ABP E 302 fo. 124 r–v.]

6

Alliance *of Nompar seigneur de Caumont with Mathieu comte de Foix, 11 May 1394.*

Mathiu per la gracie de Diu comte de Foixs vescomte de Bearn, de Castelbou, de Marsan & de Gauardan, a totz & sengles qui las presentz lettres veyran fem saber que per so que Nopar senher de Caumont ses feyt nostre seruidor[3] & alliat nos lauem promes & jurat de aiudar & valer aixi cum hom deu far a son bou alliat & aiudador, contre totz los homis deu mon qui mal lo volessen far, perso que ses feyt de nostre part exceptatz nostres dretz & naturaus senhors. E jo, Nopar soberdijt, ey promes & jurat sus los Santz Euangelis de Diu toquatz de ma propre man dextre & sus pene de estre faus & maubat de aiudar & valer audijt mossr. de Foixs, de ma propre persona, de mon poder & de tote ma terre, e far guerre de madijte terre en fore en totes partz ou lodijt mossr. de Foixs me requerira, contre totz los homis deu mon exceptat mon sobiran senhor. En testimoni desso hauem feytes far ij[es] lettres de vne forme & tenor, sagerades deu sagel de nos, Mathiu comte soberdijt, & deu sagel de mossr. Br. dAydie en absence deu sagel de mi, Nopar senhor de Caumont, a Ortes lo xj jorn de may lan mil CCCxC iiij. R.[4]

Et jo, Nopar soberdijt, prometi de hauer trames audijt mossr. de Foixs de la data de las presentz en sinc sepmanes semblant lettre que aquest es, sagerade de mon propri sagel & que lodijt mossr. me reda aqueste.

Desseus lodijt jorn la present lettre fo sagerade aixi cum ere estat promes per mossr. de Caumont de son propri sagel.

[Parchment, sealed on a tongue, seal gone. ABP E 415, unnumbered.]

[1] 'A la' crossed out.
[2] A new hand begins.
[3] 'Seruidor' repeated and crossed out.
[4] 'Registrata'?

7

Alliance *of Arnaud Roger de Comminges with Jean I comte de Foix, 15 November 1413.*

Sapien totz qui las presens lettres beyran que jo, Arnaud Rodger de Comenge, caualer, cossiran et estan jmfformat de la attinenci de linhadge, amor et amistance que monsenhors los bescomtes de Coserans mon pay, qui Diu absolue, et mosr. lo bescomte de Coserans mon fray, qui a present es, et totz los nostres antiquementz an agut et an de present ab los senhors comtes de Foixs et los trops plasers et honors quen an recebut, bolen continuar en aquere jo, soberdijt Arnaud Rodger, lo jorn de la present date me suy feyt et fas per tenor de las presens companhs, aliad et baledor de bos, trop naud et poderoos senhor mosr. Johan per la gracie de Diu comte de Foixs, et bos ey promes et jurat sus ma bone fe cum a leyau caualer, et sus los quoate Santz Euangelis de Diu toquatz de ma maa, que bos sere bou, fideu et leyau baledor et aliad; et totes hores que besonh bos sara et men requeriratz bos ajudare et soccorrere de ma persone ab tot lomes de gens darmes que poyre, contre totes las persones deu mon exceptat lo rey de France mon souuerain senhor, mosr. de Guiayne son primier filh, mosr. lo duc de Borgonhe, lodiit mosr. lo bescomte mon fray, sons jmffans et mosr. lo comte dEstarac; et no sere en loc ou a bostre persone nj a re deu bostre sie feyt mal, deshonor nj dampnadge, abantz ac euitare a mon poder. Et la soberdijte liance ey feyt tant per las rasons soberdiites et per so que lodijt mosr. lo comte me a promes et autreyat baler, soccorrer et ajudar en mas necessitatz, quant aixj ben per cent lb. que me a autreyat balhar de rende cascun an, cum apar lo tot plus larguement per sas lettres. Et en testimonj dasso lou ey balhat la present lettre signade de ma maa et sagerade de mon saget, a Maseres, lo xv jorns de nouembre, lan mil iiij^{C} et tredze.

[*signed:*] Arnaud Rodger

[Parchment, sealed on a tag. ABP E 425, unnumbered.]

8

Alliance *of Aymerigon seigneur d'Estissac with Gaston IV comte de Foix, 7 July 1439.*

Sachent toux que comme je, Aymerigon seigneur dEstissac en Pierregorc chevalier, pour la bonne et grant affection que jay eu le temps passe a feu hault & puissant seigneur monsr. Jehan de bonne memoire conte de Foix et de Bigorre et a son hostel euasse fait avec lui certaines alliances plus a plain contenues es lettres par moy sur ce faictes, signees de ma main et scellees de mon seel,[1] et depuis ledit monsr. Jehan conte de Foix et de Bigorre soit alle de vie a trespassement; voulant ensuir la bonne voulente et affection que je avoye a lui et a son hostel, le jour de la date de ces presentes de mon bon gre et certaine science me suis fayt et par la teneur de ces presentes fais allie, serviteur et valledeur de vous, hault & puissant seigneur Gaston conte de Foix et de Bigorre et vous ay promis et jure, promect & jure, sur les Sains Evangiles de Dieu et sur la foy et serement de mon corps et sur mon honneur que doresenavant et par tout le temps de ma vie a vous et a vostre hostel seray bon & loyal allie, serviteur et valledeur. Vostre personne & vostre honneur garderay et deffendray et vostre bien pourchasseray, vostre mal, deshonneur & dommaige escheveray, empescheray et destourberay de tout mon povoir et savoir; et saucune chose au contraire en venoit a ma cognoissance in-

[1] Letters of 12 Sept. 1425, in ABP E 432.

continent et le plus tost que je pourray vous en advertiray et le vous feray savoir par lettre ou messaige. Et avec ce se aucun ou aucuns vous faisoient ou vouloient faire guerre ou debat vous secourray et ayderay de toute ma puissance et avec touz ceulx qui pour moy vouldroyent faire, et se besoing est de mes lieux et places en hors leur feray guerre et en yceulx pour icelle faire recevray de voz gens, se envoyer en y voulez, en faisant toutesfoiz par vous la despense sur ce necessere, toutes et quantesfoiz que besoing en aurez et par vous en seray requis, envers touz et contre touz qui puissent vivre et mourir, exceptez le roy de France mon souverain seigneur, monsr. le daulphin de Viennoys son filz et monsr. le duc dOrleans. Lesquelles choses ay faictes, promises et jurees pour toute ma vie, comme dit est, tant de mon bon gre comme aussi pour ce que vous mavez promis & jure destre mon bon et vray seigneur et ami et me secourir et aydier, se besoing me faisoit, ainsi quil est plus a plain contenu en voz lettres patentes signees de vostre main et scellees de vostre seel; et aussi que mavez donne cinq cens moutons dor pour une foiz et promis trois cens moutons de pension annuelle tant pour ce que dit est que aussi pour vous entretenir tousjours de mon povoir en la bonne grace & amour du roy mon souverain seigneur et de mondit sr. le daulphin. En tesmoing de ce jay signe ces presentes de ma main et seelees de mon seel. Faictes a Thoulouse le vij^{e} jour de juillet lan mil CCCC trente & neuf, presens messeigneurs le conte de Comminge, les evesques dAyre et de Tarbe, le sire de Vilar, seneschal de Beaucaire, le sr. de Gamasche et messr. Trestant dAure.

[*signed:*] Estissac

[Parchment, sealed on a tongue, seal gone. ABP E 438, unnumbered.]

9

Pierre I duc de Bourbon retains Guillaume de Bourbon chevalier of his household, 18 January 1355.

Pierres duc de Bourbonn. conte de Clermont & de La Marche Chamberier de France savoir faisons que nous avons retenu & retenons nostre ame et feal chevalier messr. Guillaume de Bourbon de nostre hostel & maisnage, pour estre a nous devant tous autres & venir a nostre service toutes fois que mestier en aurons & nous le manderons. Et parmi ce nous lui avons donne & donnons par ces presentes tant comme il vivra chascun an six vins livres tournois, a prendre sur nostre tresor de Bourbonn. jusques que ailleurs len aions assigne; et avecques ce le devons deffraier toutes foiz quil sera avecques nous pour nostre service, cestassavoir a quatre chevaux, et lui devons rendre venues & retours toutes fois que mande sera, comme dit est, et aussi le devons monter pour sa personne, cestassavoir pour la guerre & pour le tournay. Mandons a nostredit tresorier que doresenavant lui paie & delivre ladicte somme aus termes acoustumes, sanz autre mandement atendre; et nous voulons que tout ce que paie & delivre lui aura pour ceste cause lui soit alloue en ses comptes. Donnees a Avignon le xviij^{e} jour de jenvier lan de grace mil CCC cinquante et quatre.

[*endorsed, inter alia:*] Ces lettres son hemies,[1] rendues & adnullees en la Chambre par certain acort fait avecques messr. Guillaume de Borbon, lequel est enregistrez en la Chambre.

[Parchment, sealed on a tag. AN P 1363[1] cote 1224.]

[1] I am not certain of the reading of this word.

Registers of the Universities, Colleges and Schools of Great Britain and Ireland

THIRTY YEARS AGO a 'Bibliography of the registers (printed) of the universities, inns of court, colleges and schools of Great Britain and Ireland', by H. Raven-Hart and Marjorie Johnston, was published in this journal (ix. 19–30, 65–83, 154–70). This was described as 'a preliminary essay' and it was stated that notes of *addenda* and *corrigenda* would be welcomed for publication in a supplement. A single list of *addenda* and *corrigenda* was published (*ante*, x. 109–13) and for some time it has been thought that a new edition of the bibliography as a whole would be of value.

The arrangement of the new list is similar to the old, with some exceptions. Registers of girls' schools and women's colleges, omitted in the first edition, have been included, but certain categories of lists have been excluded—inns of court, teaching staff and fellows of colleges, war lists and rolls of honour, and occasional lists in school magazines, for example 'Salvete' and 'Valete' lists. School histories are only found here if they contain registers or extensive lists and not merely honours lists, rolls of honour, selected biographies of distinguished pupils, etc. Old students' association lists giving only names and addresses of living members of the association have as a rule been omitted. The foundation dates of schools and colleges have not been included.

Colleges which now form part of a university are listed under the university. Schools are arranged by name, not location, the present name being taken where possible from the *Public and Preparatory Schools Year Book* or the *Educational Authorities Directory and Annual*. An index of schools under places is appended.

Where several editions have been published of a school or college register, the latest one only has been included if it is comprehensive. If the information in the latest one has been reduced, an earlier edition is also cited. Earlier editions are also included when registers are restricted to living members of a school or college.

University calendars have been included where they provide the only available information on graduates. Whenever possible, reference has been made to the latest calendar containing consolidated lists of graduates, which are now usually omitted. Since there is often no clear indication whether the list is complete or contains only living graduates, it may be necessary to consult earlier calendars as well. Calendars containing only current lists of graduates and students are not recorded here.

Most registers are privately printed for a school or college. Where there is no publisher, the printer's name has usually been given if known.

Some registers are arranged in alphabetical order and this is indicated by the abbreviation 'Alph.'. Most other registers are in chronological order, sometimes with the names placed alphabetically under each year; where an index occurs it is noted (Ind.). Either type of register may give biographical information about students (Biog.). No distinction has been made here between full biographies and a few biographical details.

For works seen at the British Museum no other location is noted, although they may be kept in other libraries, particularly in that of the Society of Genealogists, which has a comprehensive collection of schools registers. Registers not found at the British Museum were sought first at the Institute of Historical Research, then at the Guildhall Library, London, the University Library, London, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Society of Genealogists, London, in that order. An indication that a copy is to be found in one of these libraries does not necessarily mean that there are no copies in the others.

Since so many school and college registers are privately printed they do not always come to the attention of libraries. The Committee of the Institute is grateful to the considerable number of schools who responded to a notice in the *Times Educational Supplement* or to personal letters by sending information and in some cases copies of their printed registers. Nevertheless there are likely to be errors in this list. *Addenda* and *corrigenda* will be gratefully received.

PHYLLIS M. JACOBS

Abbreviations

Alph.	Contents in alphabetical order.
Biog.	Contains biographical details.
B.M.	Copy in British Museum.
Bodl.	Copy in Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Guildhall	Copy in Guildhall Library, London.
I.H.R.	Copy in Institute of Historical Research Library.
Ind.	Index.
Soc. Geneal.	Copy in Library of the Society of Genealogists, London.
U.L.	Copy in University of London Library.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY

Officers and graduates of the University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495–1890, ed. P. J. Anderson. Aberdeen, New Spalding Club. 1893. Ind. **B.M.**

Roll of alumni in arts of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1596–1860, ed. P. J. Anderson. (Aberdeen Univ. Studies, i.) Aberdeen, [Aberdeen Univ. Press Ltd.]. 1900. Ind. **B.M.**

Fasti academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis. Selections from the records of the Marischal College and University, 1593–1860, ed. P. J. Anderson. 3 vols. Aberdeen, New Spalding Club. 1889–98. **B.M.**

Vol. ii, officers, graduates and alumni; vol. iii, index to vol. ii, comp. J. F. K. Johnstone.

Roll of the graduates of the university of Aberdeen, 1860–1900, by W. Johnston. Aberdeen, [Univ. Press]. 1906. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Roll of the graduates of the university of Aberdeen, 1901–25, with supplement, 1860–1900, comp. T. Watt. Aberdeen, Univ. Press. 1935. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Calendar 1932/3 contains honours list, 1921–30. *Calendars* for 1937/8, 1940/1, 1946/7, 1950/1 contain lists for previous 5 years. Biog. **B.M.**

Under year.

Records of the arts class, 1854–8. 3rd edn., ed. F. T. Garden. Aberdeen, Milne & Hutchison. 1897. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

1st edn., ed. P. H. Chalmers (1869) and 2nd edn., ed. J. Crombie (1879) not seen.

Records of the arts class, 1856–60, ed. J. Mearns and others. Aberdeen. 1906.

Not seen.

Arts class, 1866–70 [ed. W. R. P.]. Aberdeen, Univ. Press. 1930. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Supplement to memorial book pubd. 1905 (ed. A. Shewan. Not seen). Supplementary biographical notes on members of the class who were alive in 1905.

Records of the arts class, 1868–72. 3rd edn., ed. R. M. Wilson. Aberdeen, Univ. Press. 1902. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Records of the arts class, 1868–72. Supplement, ed. A. Westland. Aberdeen, Univ. Press. 1912. Ind. (includes index to 1st, 2nd and 3rd edns.). Biog. **B.M.**

Record of the arts class, 1875–9, ed. J. Y. Collie and W. S. Matheson. Aberdeen, Rosemount Press. 1926. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Record of the arts class, 1878–82, ed. R. S. Kemp, R. A. Lendrum and J. S. Shewan. Aberdeen, Rosemount Press. 1927. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Records of the arts class, 1881–5, ed. J. Minto. Aberdeen, Rosemount Press. 1908. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Records of the arts class 1881–5. Supplement, ed. J. Minto. Aberdeen, Rosemount Press. 1930. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Records of the arts class, 1884–8 [ed. J. M. Bulloch]. Aberdeen, Taylor & Henderson. 1899. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Record of the arts class, 1889–93. Aberdeen. 1924.

Not seen. Mislaid at B.M.

Record of the members of [the] arts class, 1906–10, ed. Rachel L. Rankine Aberdeen, Rosemount Press. 1926. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Viri illustres universitatum Abredonensium, comp. W. E. McCulloch. (Aberdeen Univ. Studies, lxxxviii.) Aberdeen, Lindsay. 1923. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

BELFAST, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1922/3 and earlier issues contain lists of graduates. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Apparently only living graduates, although those killed in action are noted.

Magee University College, Londonderry

Calendar 1942/3 lists students of the college, 1865–1940; *Calendar 1946/7* lists students, 1926–44. **B.M.**

Under year.

BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY

Register of degrees, diplomas and certificates, 1900–35, 1936–47. 2 vols. Birmingham, Cornish. 1937–50. Alph. **B.M.**

1948–56 register. Degrees, diplomas and certificates. [Birmingham, Upton. 1956.] Alph. **LH.R.**

1956–9 register. Degrees, diplomas and certificates. [Birmingham, Upton. 1959.] Alph. **LH.R.**

1959–63 register. Degrees, diplomas and certificates. [Birmingham, Upton. 1964.] Alph. **LH.R.**

Register of graduates up to December, 1937. 4th edn. Birmingham, Guild of Graduates. 1938. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Includes deceased.

BRISTOL BAPTIST COLLEGE

A report of the Bristol Baptist College or Bristol Education Society for 1848. Bristol, Hemmons. [1848.] Alph. **B.M.**

Pp. 33–7, list of ministers educated at the College. Similar lists are found in the *Reports* from 1834 to 1847: dates are given only in the *Reports* from 1842 to 1847.

BRISTOL UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1939/40 and earlier issues contain lists of graduates; *Calendar 1951/2* contains graduates 1939–51; *Calendar 1958/9* contains graduates 1952–8; *Calendar 1959/60* contains graduates 1958–9; *Calendar 1963/4* contains graduates 1960–3. Alph. (under degree). **B.M.**

Faculty of Medicine

Schola medicinae Bristol: its history, lecturers and alumni, 1833–1933. Bristol, Wright. 1933. Ind. Biog. **U.L.**

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

A biographical register of the university of Cambridge to 1500, by A. B. Emden. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1963. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Athenae Cantabrigienses, by C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper. Vol. i, 1500–85. Vol. ii, 1586–1609. Vol. iii, 1609–11. 3 vols. Cambridge, Deighton, Bell, etc.; London, Bell & Daldy. 1858–1913. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Alumni Cantabrigienses: a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the university of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900, comp. J. Venn and J. A. Venn. 10 vols. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1922–54. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

The book of matriculations and degrees: a catalogue of those who have been matriculated or admitted to any degree in the university of Cambridge from 1901 to 1912 [ed. B. Benham and C. J. Stonebridge]. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1915. Alph. **B.M.**

The historical register of the university of Cambridge, being a supplement to the *Calendar* with a record of university offices, honours and distinctions to the year 1910, ed. J. R. Tanner. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1917. **B.M.**

Index in volume below.

Index to tripos lists 1748–1910 contained in *The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge to the year 1910*, comp. C. W. Previté-Orton. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1923. Alph. **B.M.**

The historical register of the university of Cambridge. Supplements, 1911–20, 1921–30, 1931–40, 1941–50, 1951–5, 1956–60. 6 vols. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1922–62. Ind. (each vol.). **B.M.**

An honours register of the university of Cambridge from the year 1246; with notes, references and appendices, by C. M. Neale. Pts. i–ii, A–K. London, Hitchcock. 1900–2. Biog. **B.M.**

App. B in pt. ii, register of Cambridge honour women, to 1901. (Alph. Biog.)

A short historical account of the degrees in music at Oxford and Cambridge, with a chronological list of graduates in that faculty from 1463, by C. F. A. Williams. London and New York, Novello, Ewer. [1894.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Register of medical students, 1923–38. [Cambridge, Univ. Press.] 1939. Alph. (under year). Biog. **B.M.**

Christ's College

Biographical register of Christ's College, 1505–1905, and of the earlier foundation, God's House, 1448–1505, comp. J. Peile. 2 vols. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1910–13. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Clare College

Notes on the masters, fellows, scholars and exhibitioners of Clare College, Cambridge, comp. W. J. Harrison. Cambridge, pr. pr. 1953. **B.M.**

Pp. 109–39, list of fellows, scholars and exhibitioners. (Alph.)

Corpus Christi College

The college of Corpus Christi, a history from 1822 to 1952, by J. P. T. Bury. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1952. **B.M.**

Pp. 289–344, admissions 1822–1950. (Alph. Biog.)

Girton College

Girton College register, 1869–1946. Cambridge, [Univ. Press]. 1948. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Gonville and Caius College

Biographical history of Gonville and Caius College 1349–1897, containing a list of all known members of the college. Vol. i, 1349–1713, comp. J. Venn. Vol. ii, 1713–1897, comp. J. Venn. Vol. iii, biographies of the masters, etc., comp. J. Venn. Vol. iv, admissions 1899–1910, ed. E. S. Roberts. Vol. v, admissions 1911–32, ed. F. E. A. Trayes. 5 vols. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1897–1948. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

King's College

A register of admissions to King's College, Cambridge, 1797–1925, comp. J. J. Withers. 2nd edn. London, Murray. 1929. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

A register of admissions to King's College, Cambridge, 1919–58, comp. R. H. Bulmer and L. P. Wilkinson. London [and Colchester, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne]. 1963. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Peterhouse

A biographical register of Peterhouse men from the earliest days (1284) to the commencement (1616) of the first admission book of the college, by T. A. Walker. 2 vols. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1927–30. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Admissions to Peterhouse or S. Peter's College. A biographical register, comp. T. A. Walker. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1912. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

1615–1911.

Admissions to Peterhouse 1911–30, comp. E. Ansell. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1939. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

St. John's College

Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist, Jan. 1629/30–July 1802. Pts. i–iv, ed. J. E. B. Mayor and Sir R. F. Scott. 4 vols. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1882–1931. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Pt. i, 1629/30–1665; pt. ii, 1665–1715 and index to pts. i and ii; pt. iii, 1715–67 and index; pt. iv, 1767–1802 and app. of biographical notes in alphabetical order.

Trinity College

Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge, ed. W. W. Rouse Ball and J. A. Venn. 5 vols. London, Macmillan. 1911–16. Ind. (in vol. i). Biog. **B.M.**

1546–1900.

The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, admitted on that foundation since 1663, and of such as have been thence elected to Christ Church, Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge, by J. Welch. New edn. [by C. B. Phillimore]. London, Ginger. 1852. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

CHURCH OF IRELAND TRAINING COLLEGE (*Dublin*)

The centenary book of the Church of Ireland Training College, 1811–1911, by H. Kingsmill Moore. Dublin, Educational Depository. 1911. **B.M.**

Pp. 61–101, list of teachers trained at the College, no dates. (Alph.)

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND TRAINING COLLEGE, *Aberdeen*

Records of the classes from 1874–5 to 1894–5, ed. Elizabeth Cleland. Aberdeen, Adelphi Press. 1896. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

COLLEGE OF S. MARK AND S. JOHN, *Chelsea*

S. Mark's College Club Year Book and S. Mark's List, 1925. Ind. **B.M.**

List of S. Mark's men from 1841, including deceased.

DIDSBURY COLLEGE

Didsbury College centenary, 1842–1942, ed. W. B. Brash and C. J. Wright. London, Epworth Press. 1942. **B.M.**

Pp. 135–58, chronological list of students, 1842–1939.

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY, *Trinity College*

Alumni Dublinenses: a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College, 1593–1860, ed. G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadleir. New edn., with supplement. Dublin, Thom. 1935. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

A catalogue of graduates of the university of Dublin. Vol. i, from the earliest recorded commencements to July 1866 with supplement to 1868. Vol. ii, 1868–95. Vol. iii, 1895–1905. Vol. iv, 1906–17. Vol. v, 1917–31. Vol. vi, 1931–52. 6 vols. Dublin, Hodges, Smith & Foster, etc. 1869–1952. Alph. **B.M.**

School of engineering. A record of past and present students. 2nd edn. [ed. J. T. Jackson]. Dublin, Univ. Press. 1921. Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

DURHAM UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1938/9 and earlier issues contain lists of living graduates. Alph. **B.M.**

Graduates of the university, with historical lists of officers and professors, 1948, 1954. 2 vols. Durham, Univ. Offices. 1948–54. Alph. **B.M.**

Graduates living in these years.

Supplement to the graduate list last published in 1954. Durham, Univ. Office. 1960. Alph. **B.M.**

Graduates living in 1959.

For *Armstrong College* and *King's College* see under NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE UNIVERSITY

EAST INDIA COLLEGE, *Haileybury*

Memorials of Old Haileybury College, by F. C. Danvers and others. Westminster, Constable. 1894. **B.M.**

Pp. 329–580, students at the East India College, 1806–57. (Ind. Biog.)

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

List of the graduates in medicine in the university of Edinburgh from 1705 to 1846. Edinburgh, Neill. 1867. Ind. **B.M.**

A catalogue of the graduates in the faculties of arts, divinity and law of the university of Edinburgh since its foundation. Edinburgh, Neill. 1858. Ind. **B.M.**

1587–1858.

Alphabetical list of graduates of the university of Edinburgh from 1859 to 1888. Edinburgh, Thin. [1889.] Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Calendar 1906/7 lists degrees conferred 1889–1906; *Calendar 1915/16* degrees conferred 1905–14; *Calendar 1932/3* degrees conferred 1916–31; *Calendar 1933/4–Calendar 1941/2* list degrees conferred in 5 previous years. **B.M.**

Under faculty, degree and year.

Viri illustres Acad. Jacob. Sext. Scot. Reg. anno CCCmo, ed. P. Geddes. Edinburgh, Pentland. 1884. Biog. **U.L.**

EXETER UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1961/2 contains list of graduates, 1957–61. Alph. **B.M.**

FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, *Aberdeen*, *see* UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, *Aberdeen*

GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

A roll of the graduates of the university of Glasgow from 1727 to 1897, comp. W. I. Addison. Glasgow, MacLehose. 1898. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

The matriculation albums of the university of Glasgow from 1728 to 1858, ed. W. I. Addison. Glasgow, MacLehose. 1913. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Prize lists of the university of Glasgow from session 1777/8 to session 1832/3, comp. W. I. Addison. Glasgow, Carter & Pratt. 1902. Ind. **B.M.**

The Snell exhibitions from the university of Glasgow to Balliol College, Oxford, by W. I. Addison. Glasgow, MacLehose. 1901. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Holders, 1679–1900.

Munimenta alme universitatis Glasguensis. Records of the university of Glasgow from its foundation till 1727 [ed. C. Innes and J. Robertson]. 4 vols. Glasgow, [Maitland Club]. 1854. **B.M.**

Vol. iii, lists of graduates from 1578, lists of matriculated members from 1590; vol. iv, index.

Calendar 1911/12 contains lists of graduates with honours 1827–1910. *Calendar 1916/17* contains lists 1911–15. *Calendar 1921/2* contains lists 1916–20. Then 5-year lists are found in *Calendars* for 1925/6, 1928/9, 1931/2, 1935/6, 1938/9, 1941/2. The list for 1941–5 is published separately in *Supplement to the 1947/8 Calendar*. **B.M.**

Under degree and year.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE, *see* EAST INDIA COLLEGE. *See also* HAILEYBURY AND IMPERIAL SERVICE COLLEGE, *under* SCHOOLS

HERIOT-WATT COLLEGE, *Edinburgh*

Calendar 1937/8 contains lists of diploma-holders, apparently complete. Alph. Biog. **U.L.**

HULL UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1959/60 lists London University graduates at Hull; *Calendar 1962/3* lists graduates of Hull, 1954–62. Alph. **B.M.**

IRELAND, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF

Calendar 1951 and earlier issues contain consolidated lists of graduates, probably only living ones. Alph. **B.M.**

Graduate and sessional lists, 1952, 1955, 1958, 1961. 4 vols. Dublin, Thom. 1952–62. Alph. **B.M.**

Graduates living in these years.

University College, Cork

Calendar 1919/20 and earlier issues contain lists of graduates, probably only living ones; *Calendar 1921/2–Calendar 1925/6* contain lists of living graduates who are graduates of N.U.I.; *Sessional Lists 1925/6–Sessional Lists 1942/3* contain lists of living graduates of N.U.I. Alph. **B.M.**

University College, Dublin

Calendar 1934/5 and earlier issues give lists of graduates. Alph. (to 1913 and then under year). **U.L.**

Calendar 1941/2. Vol. ii, list of registered graduates 1909 to summer 1941. Dublin, Browne & Nolan. 1941. Alph. (to 1913 and then under year). **U.L.**

Living graduates.

A page of Irish history: study of University College, Dublin, 1883–1909. Dublin and Cork, Talbot Press. 1930. **B.M.**

Pp. 589–629, the College register in chronological order.

University College, Galway

Calendar 1954/5 and earlier issues contain lists of graduates, apparently only living ones. Alph. Biog. (before 1935/6). **U.L.**

LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE, *Manchester*

Lancashire Independent College, 1843–93. Jubilee memorial volume, by J. Thompson. Manchester, Cornish. 1893. **B.M.**

Pp. 201–10, chronological list of students.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY

Register of graduates, 1904–60. [Leeds, Jowett & Sowry. 1961.] Alph. **B.M.**

LEICESTER UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1960/1 contains consolidated list of London University graduates at Leicester; *Calendar 1963/4* contains list of Leicester graduates from 1958. Alph. **B.M.**

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1924/5 contains list of graduates, including deceased. Alph. (under degree). **B.M.**

LONDON COLLEGE OF DIVINITY

The London College of Divinity: 1863–97. Governing body, tutors, lecturers and clergy [comp. C. H. Waller]. London, Stock. 1898. **B.M.**

List of clergy ordained up to 1897, including deceased, in chronological order under each letter.

Calendar 1916/17 gives list of past and present members of the College. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

LONDON UNIVERSITY

The historical record, 1836–1926. 2nd issue. London, Univ. of London Press. 1926. Alph. **B.M.**

Including deceased.

Calendar 1931/2 contains list of graduates up to 30 June 1931 still living. Alph. **B.M.**

Degrees awarded January 1932 to December 1936, January 1937 to December 1941, January 1942 to December 1946, January 1947 to December 1951, January 1952 to December 1956, January 1957 to December 1961. 6 vols. [London. 1937–62.] Alph. (under year). **B.M.**

Degrees awarded 1931 are in the *Calendar 1932/3*.

Bedford College

List of students, 1849–1949. [London. 1949.] Alph. **LH.R.**

With dates but no degrees: includes deceased.

Calendar 1949/50 contains list of graduates 1902–48, probably only living ones; *Calendar 1960/2* contains list of graduates 1947–60. Alph. **U.L.**

Birkbeck College

Calendar 1951/2 contains list of graduates, including deceased. Alph. **B.M.**

Imperial College of Science and Technology

Register of the associates and old students of the Royal College of Chemistry, the Royal School of Mines and the Royal College of Science, by T. G. Chambers. London, Hazell, Watson & Viney. 1896. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Calendar 1937/8 and earlier issues contain names of diplomates, associates, etc., living. Alph. **B.M.**

Register of students of the City and Guilds College, 1884–1934 [comp. J. Walker]. [London. 1936.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Register of old students and staff of the Royal College of Science. 6th edn., ed. B. Atkinson. London, [Milner]. 1951. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Register of the associates and old students of the Royal School of Mines [ed. J. H. Watson]. London, Huckle. 1947. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Supplements issued annually, 1949–60.

King's College

Calendar 1865/6 contains university distinctions prior to 1866; *Calendar 1904/5* contains university distinctions for 1866–1902; *Calendar 1910/11* for 1902–10; *Calendar 1915/16* for 1904–15; *Calendar 1918/19* for 1915–18. **B.M.**

Under degree and year.

London School of Economics and Political Science

Register, 1895–1932. [Andover, Chapel River Press.] 1934. Alph. Biog. **LH.R.**

Register, 1895–1932. 1st annual supplement, 1932–3; 2nd annual supplement, 1933–4; 3rd annual supplement, 1934–5. 3 vols. [Andover, Chapel River Press.] 1934–7. Alph. Biog. **LH.R.**

Queen Mary College

Calendar 1958/9 contains list of graduates; *Calendar 1963/4* contains graduates from 1951. Alph. (under degree). **B.M.**

Including deceased.

Richmond College

Richmond College, 1843–1943, ed. F. H. Cumbers. London, Epworth Press. 1944. **B.M.**

Pp. 163–88, chronological list of students, 1843–1940.

Royal Holloway College

Calendar 1957/8 contains list of students of the College, 1887–1957, including deceased. Ind. Biog. **LH.R.**

Calendar 1963/4 contains list of students from 1949. Alph. (under year). Biog. **LH.R.**

University College

Calendar 1900/1–Calendar 1914/15 give lists of graduates of not more than 10 years' standing. Alph. (under degree). **U.L.**

University College Hospital

Medical and Dental Schools, Prospectus 1929/30 and *Prospectus 1933/4* give lists of former students living. Alph. **U.L.**

Medical School Prospectus 1952/3 gives list of former students. Alph. **U.L.**

MANCHESTER COLLEGE, *Oxford*

Roll of students entered at the Manchester Academy, 1786–1803; Manchester College, York, 1803–40; Manchester New College, Manchester, 1840–53; Manchester New College, London, 1853–67. Manchester, Johnson & Rawson. 1868. Biog. **B.M.**

Lists of professors, lecturers and principal officers, and roll of students of Manchester New College, London, 1866–89; Manchester New College, Oxford, 1889–93; Manchester College, Oxford, 1893–9. Manchester, Rawson. 1900. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

MANCHESTER UNITARIAN COLLEGE

Register of students, 1854–1929, comp. H. McLachlan. Manchester, Wm. Morris Press. [1929.] Ind. Biog. **LH.R.**

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY

The Victoria University of Manchester. Register of graduates up to July 1st, 1908. 3rd edn. (Manchester Univ. Publications, xxxvi.) Manchester, Univ. Press. 1908. Alph. Biog. **LH.R.**

Register of graduates and holders of diplomas and certificates, 1851–1958. Manchester, Univ. Press. [1959.] Alph. **B.M.**

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, *see* IRELAND, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE UNIVERSITY

Armstrong College

Calendar 1931/2 and earlier issues give lists of graduates, mostly without dates. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Medical School, King's College

Calendar 1937/8 contains lists of graduates, licentiates, etc., without dates, under degrees. **U.L.**

NEWPORT PAGNELL EVANGELICAL INSTITUTION

The Newport Pagnell Academy, by F. W. Bull. In *Transactions of the Congregational Hist. Soc.*, iv (1909–10), 305–24. **B.M.**

Chronological list of students, 1782–1848.

NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1933/4 contains list of the associates of the University College of Nottingham; *Calendar 1950/1* contains list of London University graduates at Nottingham; *Calendar 1959/60* of Nottingham graduates, 1950–9; *Calendar 1963/4* of Nottingham graduates, 1960–3. Alph. **B.M.**

Including deceased.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

A biographical register of the university of Oxford to A.D. 1500, by A. B. Emden. 3 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1957–9. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Addenda and *corrigenda* in *Bodleian Library Record*, 1961–.

Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the university of Oxford, 1500–1714, ed. J. Foster. 4 vols. Oxford, Parker. 1891–2. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the university of Oxford, 1715–1886, ed. J. Foster. 4 vols. London, Foster; Oxford, Parker. 1887–8. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Oxford men, 1880–92, with a record of their schools, honours and degrees, by J. Foster. Oxford and London, Parker. 1893. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Oxford men and their colleges, by J. Foster. Oxford and London, Parker. 1893. **B.M.**

Companion volume to the above, 1880–92; biographical notices of fellows and officers, lists only of students.

The historical register of the university of Oxford with an alphabetical record of university honours and distinctions to 1900. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1900. Ind. **B.M.**

Supplement to the historical register of 1900, including an alphabetical record of university honours and distinctions for the years 1901–30. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1934. Alph. **B.M.**

Supplement to the historical register of 1900, including an alphabetical record of university honours and distinctions for the years 1931–50. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1951. Alph. **B.M.**

Oxford honours, 1220–1894: being an alphabetical register of distinctions conferred by the university of Oxford from the earliest times. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1894. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

A short historical account of the degrees in music at Oxford and Cambridge, with a chronological list of graduates in that faculty from 1463, by C. F. A. Williams. London and New York, Novello, Ewer. [1894.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Register of Rhodes scholars, 1903–45, ed. C. K. Allen. London, Oxford Univ. Press. 1950. Ind. Biog. **Guildhall.**

Balliol College

The Balliol College register, 2nd edn., 1833–1933, ed. Sir Ivo Elliott. Oxford, Univ. Press. 1934. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

This edition 'will remain the principal authority for the years before 1900–1'. (Foreword to 3rd edn.)

The Balliol College register, 3rd edn., 1900–50, ed. Sir Ivo Elliott. Oxford, Univ. Press. 1953. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Also contains supplementary notes on pre-1900 members.

Brasenose College

Brasenose College register, 1509–1909 [ed. C. B. Heberden]. 2 vols. Oxford, Blackwell. 1909. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Brasenose College register [1509–1909]. Supplementary additions and corrections. 1910. **I.H.R.**

Under years.

Canterbury College

Canterbury College, Oxford, by W. A. Pantin. Vol. iii. (Oxford Hist. Soc., new ser., viii.) Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1950. **B.M.**

Pp. 227–45, Cardinal Morton's scholars, 1501–8.

Christ Church

The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, admitted on that foundation since 1663, and of such as have been thence elected to Christ Church, Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge, by J. Welch. New edn. [by C. B. Phillimore]. London, Ginger. 1852. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Exeter College

Registrum collegii Exoniensis. Register of the rectors and fellows, scholars, exhibitioners and Bible clerks of Exeter College, Oxford, by C. W. Boase. 2nd edn. Oxford, [Pollard]. 1893. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

Another edition was published in 1894 for the Oxford Historical Society. The first edition (1879) 'still retains a value of its own'. (Preface to 2nd edn.)

Registrum collegii Exoniensis, pars ii. An alphabetical register of the commoners of Exeter College, Oxford, by C. W. Boase. Oxford, Baxter's Press. 1894. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Register of Exeter College, Oxford, 1891–1921, by A. B. How. Oxford, Blackwell. 1928. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Keble College

A register of the alumni of Keble College, Oxford, from 1870 to 1925, comp. O. C. C. Nicolls. Oxford, Alden Press. 1927. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Lady Margaret Hall

Lady Margaret Hall register, 1879–1924, ed. Christine Anson. [2nd edn.] Oxford, Univ. Press. 1928. Ind. Biog.

Not seen.

Lady Margaret Hall register, 1879–1944, ed. Christine Anson. [3rd edn.] [Oxford, Univ. Press.] 1947. Ind. Biog. **U.L.**

Living members only.

Lady Margaret Hall register, 1879–1952, ed. Christine Anson. [4th edn.] [Oxford, Univ. Press.] 1955. Ind. Biog. **L.H.R.**

Living members only. 'Intended for use with the 2nd and 3rd editions.'

Magdalen College

The Magdalen College record. [1st issue], ed. J. Murray. [London, Hazell, Watson & Viney.] 1909. Alph. Biog. **Bodl.**

Living members only.

The Magdalen College record. 2nd issue, ed. J. Murray jr. [London and Aylesbury, Hazell, Watson & Viney. 1911.] Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

All members alive in 1909.

The Magdalen College record. 3rd issue, ed. J. Murray. London, Murray. 1922. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

All Magdalen men alive in 1909 and new members.

The Magdalen College record. 4th issue, 1934, ed. P. V. M. Benecke. [London], Murray. [1934.] Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

All Magdalen men alive in 1922 and new members.

The Magdalen College record. 5th issue, 1955. Oxford, Univ. Press. 1956. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Living members.

Oriel College

Registrum Orielense: an account of the members of Oriel College, Oxford. Vol. i, 1500–1700; vol. ii, 1701–1900, comp. C. L. Shadwell. 2 vols. London, Frowde. 1893, 1902. Ind. (each vol.). Biog. **B.M.**

St. Bernard's College

The early history of St. John's College, Oxford, by W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter. (Oxford Hist. Soc., new ser., i.) Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1939. **B.M.**

Pp. 41–9, some persons residing at St. Bernard's College. (Alph. Biog.)

St. Hilda's College

St. Hilda's College register, 1893–1944. Oxford, Univ. Press. 1948. Ind. Biog. **L.H.R.**

St. John's College

The early history of St. John's College, Oxford, by W. H. Stevenson and H. E. Salter. (Oxford Hist. Soc., new ser., i.) Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1939. **B.M.**

Pp. 304–19, commoners, 1568–75. (Ind. Biog.)

Somerville College

Register, 1879–1959 [ed. Hilda Bryant]. Oxford, Univ. Press. 1961. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

Trinity College

Admissions during the nineteenth century. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1901. Ind. Biog. **Bodl.**

Wadham College

The registers of Wadham College, Oxford. Pt. i, from 1613 to 1719; pt. ii, from 1719 to 1871, ed. R. B. Gardiner. 2 vols. London, Bell. 1889–95. Ind. (each vol.). Biog. **B.M.**

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, BELFAST, *see* BELFAST, QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY

READING UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1950/1 contains list of graduates 1928–50; *Calendar 1963/4* contains list of graduates from 1950. Alph. **B.M.**

Including deceased.

ROYAL AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE, *Cirencester*

Register of the staff and students of the Royal Agricultural College, from 1844 to 1897. Cirencester, Harmer. [1897.] Alph. Biog. **Soc. Geneal.**

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, *Glasgow*

Calendar 1937/8 gives lists of associates, past students, etc., including deceased. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

ST. ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

Early records of the university of St. Andrews: the graduation roll, 1413–1579 and the matriculation roll, 1473–1579, transcribed and ed. J. M. Anderson. (Scottish Hist. Soc., 3rd ser., viii.) Edinburgh, Constable. 1926. Ind. **B.M.**

The matriculation roll of the university of St. Andrews, 1747–1897, ed. J. M. Anderson. Edinburgh and London, Blackwood. 1905. Ind. **B.M.**

Calendar 1897/8 gives lists of graduates 1851–90; *Calendar 1915/16* gives lists of graduates 1891–1911; *Calendar 1939/40* gives lists of graduates 1912–39. **B.M.**

Under faculty, degree and year.

Veterum laudes, being a tribute to the achievements of the members of St. Salvator's College during five hundred years, ed. J. B. Salmond. (St. Andrews Univ. Publications, xlviii.) Edinburgh and London, Oliver & Boyd. 1950. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE, *Canterbury*

A history of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, by R. J. E. Boggis. Canterbury, Cross & Jackman. 1907. **B.M.**

Pp. 189–230, some former students (Ind. Biog.); pp. 312–27, chronological list of students, 1849–1904.

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY

List of graduates, diplomates and associates to 1962, including associates of University College. [Sheffield, Northend. 1964.] Alph. **B.M.**

Includes deceased.

SOUTHAMPTON UNIVERSITY

Calendar 1956/7 includes list of graduates from 1953. Alph. **B.M.**

STEPNEY BAPTIST ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION

Report of the Committee of the Baptist College at Stepney. London, Teape. 1848. **B.M.**

List of ministers educated at Stepney College, including deceased, with no dates.

TRINITY COLLEGE, *Dublin*, *see* DUBLIN UNIVERSITY, *Trinity College*

UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, *Aberdeen*

Free Church College, 1843–1900; United Free Church College, 1900–29. Complete roll of alumni, 1843–1929. Aberdeen, Univ. Press. 1936.

Not seen.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES AT ABERYSTWYTH AND BALA

Calendar 1940/1 contains lists of students 1932–40. (Alph.—in each session.) **B.M.**

WALES, UNIVERSITY OF

Prifysgol Cymru. The guild of graduates. [List of graduates of the University of Wales.] Published as a supplement to the University Calendar, 1958–9. Cardiff, Lewis. 1958. Alph. **B.M.**

University College, Aberystwyth

Calendar 1908/9 gives consolidated list of graduates. Alph. **B.M.**

University College of North Wales, Bangor

Calendar 1926/7 contains list of graduates; *Calendar 1927/8–Calendar 1938/9* list graduates for previous 10 years. Alph. (under degree). **B.M.**

University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff

Calendar 1930/1 has examination results to 1929/30; *Calendar 1933/4* has results 1930/1–1932/3; *Calendar 1936/7* has results 1933/4–1935/6. **B.M.**

Under degrees.

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE, *Cambridge*

Westminster College Cambridge students' roll, 1899–1949, comp. J. F. Marquis. (Presbyterian Hist. Soc. of England, Special Publications, iv.) [London, Clark. 1949.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

SCHOOLS

ABERDEEN GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Aberdeen Grammar School roll of pupils 1795–1919, annotated from 1863, by T. Watt. Aberdeen, Rosemount Press. 1923. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

ABINGDON SCHOOL

A list of some distinguished persons educated at Abingdon School, Berks., 1563–1855, comp. W. H. Richardson. Abingdon, Hughes. 1905. Alph. **B.M.**

ACKWORTH SCHOOL (Boys and Girls)

List of the boys and girls admitted into Ackworth School 1779 to 1879, comp. from the official registers. London, Harris. 1879. Ind. (surnames). **B.M.**

List of the boys and girls admitted into Ackworth School from 1879 to the end of 1930, comp. from the official registers by E. B. Collinson. Scarborough, Dennis. [1932.] Ind. (surnames). **B.M.**

ACTON BURNELL, *see* DOWNSIDE SCHOOL, BATH

ADAMS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL, *Newport*

Register of Old Boys, 1904–32. Newport, Advertiser Printing Works.

Not seen.

ALDENHAM SCHOOL

The history and register of Aldenham School. 8th edn., comp. E. Beevor and others. Worcester and London, Baylis. 1948. Ind. Biog. **L.H.R.**

'The Eighth Edition ... was particularly complete and detailed, and for many years to come will remain the standard book of reference on Aldenham.' (Preface to 9th edn.)

The register of Aldenham School. 9th edn., ed. R. J. Evans and others. Oxford, Holywell Press. 1959. Ind. Biog. **L.H.R.**

Omits students before 1900 who are deceased.

ALLHALLOWS SCHOOL

Register and record, 1852–1952, ed. Evelyn Byrde and G. S. Napier. Honiton, Dimond. [1952.] Ind. Biog. **L.H.R.**

AMPLEFORTH COLLEGE

Ampleforth diaries. 1894.

Lists for 1802–30. Not seen.

Ampleforth lists, 1831–95. In *Ampleforth Journal*, i (1895–6), 113–18, 232–8, 358–63; ii (1896–7), 129–33, 245–51, 374–82; iii (1897–8), 111–19, 251–6. **B.M.**

B.M. copy defective.

ARAVON SCHOOL, *Bray*

The Aravonian and school register, 1862–1962 [ed. J. R. B. Studdert]. [1962.] Alph. **I.H.R.**

ARDINGLY COLLEGE

A register of S. Saviour's School, Ardingly, by an Old Boy [C. M. Neale]. [Pt. i, 1858–72.] Oxford, Alden. 1913. Biog. **B.M.**

Chronological list.

BATH COLLEGE

The Bath College register, 1878–1909. [3rd issue, comp. C. Bland and others.] Worthing, [Gadd]. 1948. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Addenda and *corrigenda* issued May 1949, Feb. 1950, Feb. 1951, March 1952.

BEAUMONT COLLEGE, OLD WINDSOR

The Beaumont lists for fifty years, 1861–1911. Supplement to the *Beaumont Review*. Old Windsor, Beaumont Review Office. [1911.] Alph. Biog. **Bodl.**

The Beaumont lists, 1861–1961. In *Beaumont Rev.*, **xxix** (1963), 455–80; **xxx** (1964), 33–74, 105–43. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

A–P only. In progress.

BEDALES SCHOOL (Boys and Girls)

Bedales School roll. Biographical summary and analysis, 1952, ed. B. L. Gimson. Leicester and London, Blackfriars Press. 1952. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

1893–1951. This edition contains fuller information for early period.

Bedales School roll. Biographical summary and analysis, 1962, ed. P. Brown. Bristol, Arrowsmith. [1962.] Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

BEDFORD MODERN SCHOOL

A register of the Old Boys of the Bedford Modern School [1873–1900], comp. H. E. Vipan. Bedford, Robinson. [N.d.] Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

BELVEDERE COLLEGE, *Dublin*

List of pupils, 1832–1936. Dublin, Fodhla Printing Co. 1940. **I.H.R.**

Alph. (1832–41, 1841–80). Chronological, 1900–36.

BILTON GRANGE, *Rugby*

Bilton Grange register, 1873–1931. 2nd edn., ed. G. Earle. Rugby, Over. 1932. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

This edition contains fuller information for early period.

Bilton register, 1873–1953. 3rd edn., ed. G. Earle. Rugby, Over. 1953. Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

BINGLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL (Boys and Girls)

A history of the Bingley Grammar School, 1529–1929, by E. E. Dodd. Bradford, Lund, Humphries. [1930.] **B.M.**

App. A ii, chronological list of headmasters and pupils [1613–1929].

BISHOP'S STORTFORD COLLEGE

Register of Old Stortfordians, 1868–1900. Bishop's Stortford, Boardman. 1900.

Not seen.

BLACKHEATH HIGH SCHOOL (Girls)

The book of the Blackheath High School, ed. Mary C. Malim and Henrietta C. Escreet. London, Blackheath Press. 1927. **B.M.**

Pp. 197–292, lists of Old Girls, 1880–1900, 1900–15, 1915–25. (Alph.)

Some names mentioned in text. (Ind. Biog.)

THE BLUE COAT SCHOOL, *Cork*, *see* ST. STEPHEN'S HOSPITAL, *Cork*

BLUNDELL'S SCHOOL

The register of Blundell's School, with introduction and appendices by A. Fisher. Pt. i, the register, 1770–1882. Exeter, Commin. 1904. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

The register of Blundell's School, ed. A. S. Mahood. Pt. ii, the register, 1882–1932. Exeter, Commin. 1932. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

BOOTHAM SCHOOL, YORK

Bootham School register. New and revised edn. [ed. E. B. Collinson]. Scarborough and London, Dennis. 1935. Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

BRADFIELD COLLEGE

The Bradfield College register [1850–1935]. 17th edn. Oxford, Univ. Press. 1935. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

BRADFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Origin and history of the Bradford Grammar School, from its formation to Christmas 1882, by W. Claridge. Bradford, Green. 1882. **B.M.**

App. vii, chronological list of pupils, 1872–82.

BRIGG GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The history of Brigg Grammar School, by F. Henthorn. Boston, Lincolnshire Standard Ltd. 1959. **B.M.**

Pp. 181–200, chronological list of boys, 1879–1919.

BRIGHTON COLLEGE

Brighton College register, 1847–1922, nos. 1–5000, comp. E. K. Milliken. Brighton, Farncombe's. 1922. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

BRITANNIA ROYAL NAVAL COLLEGE, *Dartmouth*

Drake term, 1929–32. Record of members [by J. A. Phillips]. [London. 1952.] Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

BROMSGROVE SCHOOL

The Old Bromsgrovian register, together with a brief history of the origin and growth of Bromsgrove School. Bromsgrove, 'Messenger' Co. 1908–10 [1910]. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Contains only 1781–1905.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS GRAMMAR SCHOOL, *see* KING EDWARD VI GRAMMAR SCHOOL, *Bury St. Edmunds*

CAMPBELL COLLEGE

The Campbell College register, 1894 to 1938. [3rd edn.] Belfast, Brough, Cox & Dunn. 1938. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

The Campbell College register, 1894–1954. 4th edn. Belfast, Brough, Cox & Dunn. 1954. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

Omits those recorded as deceased in the 3rd edition.

CANFORD SCHOOL

Canford School register, 1923–35, comp. C. A. Lillingston. 1936.

Not seen.

CARGILFIELD, *Barnton, Edinburgh*

Cargilfield register, 1873–1927 [ed. H. C. Benbow]. Leith, McDougall. [1928.] Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

CARLISLE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Carlisle Grammar School memorial register, 1264–1924, ed. G. B. Routledge. Carlisle, Thurnam. 1924. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

CARLOW COLLEGE

Knockbeg centenary book [ed. P. MacSuibhne]. Carlow, Nationalist & Leinster Times. [1948.] **Soc. Geneal.**

Pp. 25–63, Carlow student-roll, 1793–1818. (Ind. Biog.)

CASTLE HOWELL SCHOOL, *Lancaster*

The Castle Howell School record, comprising a list of pupils from the beginning [ed. D. Davis]. Lancaster, Brash. 1888. **B.M.**

Pp. xvii–xxv, chronological list of pupils, 1850–88.

CHANONRY HOUSE SCHOOL, *Aberdeen*

Spirat adhuc amor: the record of the Gym (Chanonry House School), Old Aberdeen, comp. A. Shewan. Aberdeen, Rosemount Press. 1923. **I.H.R.**

App. A, roll of Old Boys [1849–79]. (Alph. Biog.)

CHARTERHOUSE

Alumni Carthusiani: a record of the foundation scholars of Charterhouse, 1614–1872, ed. B. Marsh and F. A. Crisp. [London, Grove Park Press.] 1913. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Scholars, 1614–79; admission register, 1680–1818; admissions of scholars, 1818–33; scholars' admission book, 1833–74.

List of Carthusians, 1800 to 1879, ed. W. D. Parish. Lewes, Farncombe. 1879. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

List of Day Boys is imperfect to 1811.

Charterhouse register, 1872–1931. 3rd edn. [ed. E. M. Jameson and others]. 2 vols. Guildford, Biddles. 1932. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

CHATHAM HOUSE GRAMMAR SCHOOL FOR BOYS, *Ramsgate*

Records (1909–22) of the Ramsgate County School for Boys, now known as Chatham House School, comp. H. C. Barnard and F. N. Taylor. Ramsgate, pr. pr. 1923. **B.M.**

Pp. 183–204, school register. (Alph.)

CHELTENHAM COLLEGE

Cheltenham College register, 1841–1910, ed. A. A. Hunter. London, Bell. 1911. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

This edition contains fuller information for early period.

Cheltenham College register, 1841–1927. [3rd edn.], ed. E. S. Skirving. Cheltenham, The College. 1928. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Cheltenham College register: 1841–1919 additions and corrections; 1919–51, ed. C. H. Pigg. Cheltenham, The College. 1953. Ind. (1841–1951). Biog. **B.M.**

CHIGWELL SCHOOL

Chigwell register, ed. O. W. Darch and A. S. Tween. Buckhurst Hill, Phelp. 1907. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

From 1876, with earlier entries supplied from oral tradition, etc.

CHORISTERS' SCHOOL, SALISBURY, *see* SALISBURY CATHEDRAL SCHOOL

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, FINCHLEY

The centenary book of Christ's College, Finchley, 1857–1957 [ed. A. T. Milne]. Finchley, Amory. 1957. **I.H.R.**

Pp. 137–239, school register, 1857–1957. (Alph. Biog.)

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, HORSHAM

Christ's Hospital exhibitioners to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, 1566–1923, by G. A. T. Allan. Founded on A. W. Lockhart's List of Exhibitioners. London, Harrison. 1924. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Christ's Hospital admissions. Vol. i, 1554–99. London, Harrison. 1937. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

CHURCHER'S COLLEGE

The history of Churcher's College, Petersfield, Hants. London, Butterworth; Petersfield, Minchin. 1823. **B.M.**

Pp. 290–8, chronological list of boys, 1745–1819.

CITY OF OXFORD HIGH SCHOOL

The register of the City of Oxford High School, 1881–1925, ed. E. A. Bowen. Oxford, [Broome]. [1938.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

CLERGY ORPHAN SCHOOL FOR BOYS, *see* ST. EDMUND'S SCHOOL, CANTERBURY

CLIFTON COLLEGE

Clifton College register, 1862 to 1947 [ed. J. A. O. Muirhead]. Bristol, Arrowsmith. 1948. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Clifton College register, 1862 to 1962. Centenary edn. [ed. S. P. Beachcroft]. Bristol, Arrowsmith. 1962. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Omits those recorded as deceased in 1948 edition.

CLIFTON HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Register of staff and Old Girls, 1877–1937. Bristol, Savage & White. N.d. Alph. **Soc. Geneal.**

CLONGOWES WOOD COLLEGE

The Clongowes record, 1814–1932, by T. Corcoran. Dublin, Browne & Nolan. 1932.

Not seen.

COLCHESTER ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Register of the scholars admitted to Colchester School, 1637–1740. Ed. by J. H. Round from the transcript by C. L. Acland. Colchester, Wiles. 1897. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

CREWKERNE SCHOOL

History of Crewkerne School, A.D. 1499–1899, by R. G. Bartelot. Crewkerne, Wheatley. 1899. **B.M.**

Ch. xiv, school register from 1828, chronological.

CROYDON SCHOOL, *see* FRIENDS' SCHOOL, *Saffron Walden*

DEAN CLOSE SCHOOL, CHELTENHAM

Dean Close School alumni, 1886 to 1948. Winchester, Warren. 1950. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

DENSTONE COLLEGE

The Denstone register, 1873–1930. [2nd edn.], ed. E. T. Greenwood. Shrewsbury, Wilding. 1932. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

DERBY SCHOOL

The Derby School register, 1570–1901, ed. B. Tacchella. London and Derby, Bemrose. 1902. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

DOUAY, *see* DOWNSIDE SCHOOL, BATH

DOVER COLLEGE

Dover College register, 1871–1924. 4th edn., ed. C. L. Evans. Dover, Grigg. 1924. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Supplement to Dover College register (1924 edn.), 1924–29. Dover, Grigg. 1929. Alph. **B.M.**

Supplement to Dover College register (1930 edn.), 1930–54 [ed. A. S. Dixon]. [London, Royle. N.d.] Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

DOWNSIDE SCHOOL, BATH

List of boys at St. Gregory's. Douay 1614–1793; Acton Burnell 1794–1814; Downside 1814–1953 [ed. G. L. Graham and others]. Exeter, Catholic Records Press. [1954.] **I.H.R.**

Chronological lists.

THE DUKE'S COUNTY GRAMMAR SCHOOL, ALNWICK

A register of admissions to the Duke of Northumberland's School, Alnwick, 1811–1911 [comp. W. R. Finch and W. R. Fairclough]. Leicester, Lead. 1911. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

DULWICH COLLEGE

Dulwich College register, 1619 to 1926, comp. T. L. Ormiston. [London, Keliher. 1926.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Pt. i, scholars, 1703–1857; pt. ii, boys, 1858–1926.

DURHAM SCHOOL

Durham School register. 3rd edn., to December 1939, ed. T. H. Burbidge. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1940. Alph. (before 1840). Ind. (1840–1939). Biog. **B.M.**

Supplement to the Durham School register (3rd edn., 1939), ed. J. V. Cowgill. [Durham. 1950.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY

The Edinburgh Academy register: a record of all those who have entered the school since its foundation in 1824 [ed. T. Henderson and P. F. Hamilton-Grierson]. Edinburgh, Constable. 1914. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

The Edinburgh Academy list, 1888–1953. [Edinburgh, Warwick & Sons.] 1953. Alph. **B.M.**

EDINBURGH INSTITUTION, *see* MELVILLE COLLEGE

ELIZABETH COLLEGE, GUERNSEY

Elizabeth College register, 1824–73, with a record of some earlier students, comp. C. J. Durand, K. Brock and E. C. Ozanne. Guernsey, Clarke. 1898. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Pp. 41–6, students before the re-chartering, 1765–1824.

Elizabeth College register. Vol. ii, 1874–1911, comp. D. H. Drake-Brockman. Guernsey, Star & Gazette Co. 1931. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Includes *addenda* to vol. i.

Elizabeth College register. Vol. iii, 1911–39, comp. V. Coysh. Guernsey, Guernsey Press Co. 1951.

Not seen.

EPSOM COLLEGE

Epsom College register, 1855 to 1905. 1st edn. [comp. W. E. Wynter and T. Chetwood]. London, Clay. 1905. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

This edition contains fuller information for early period.

Epsom College register, 1855–1954. [4th edn.], ed. T. R. Thomson. Oxford, Univ. Press. 1955. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

ETON COLLEGE

The Eton College register, 1441–1698, ed. Sir Wasey Sterry. Eton, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne. 1943. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

The Eton College register, 1698–1752, ed. R. A. Austen-Leigh. Eton, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne. 1927. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

The Eton College register, 1753–90, ed. R. A. Austen-Leigh. Eton, Spottiswoode, Ballantyne. 1921. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

The Eton school lists from 1791 to 1850 (every third year after 1793), with notes, by H. E. C. Stapylton. 2nd edn. London, Williams. 1864. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

The Eton register [1841–89]. Pts. i–v. 5 vols. Eton, Spottiswoode. 1903–8. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

Pt. i, 1841–50; pt. ii, 1853–9; pt. iii, 1862–8; pt. iv, 1871–80; pt. v, 1883–9.

The Eton register, being a continuation of Stapylton's Eton school lists, 1893–9. [Pt. vi.] Eton, Spottiswoode. 1901. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

The Eton register [1899–1919]. Pts. vii, viii. 2 vols. Eton, Spottiswoode. 1922–32. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.** (pt. vii). **Soc. Geneal.** (pt. viii).

Pt. vii, 1899–1909; pt. viii, 1909–19.

The old public school-boys' who's who series: Eton. London, St. James's Press. 1933. Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

Old Etonians living in 1933.

FELSTED SCHOOL

Alumni Felstedienses: being a list of boys entered at Felsted School, May 1564–September 1931. [6th edn.], ed. F. S. Moller. London, [Essex Weekly News]. 1931. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Alumni Felstedienses, being a list of boys entered at Felsted School, April 1890–September 1950. 7th edn., ed. C. Chittock. [Frome and London, Butler & Tanner.] 1951. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Supplements i–viii, 1951–8.

FETTES COLLEGE

The Fettes College register, 1870 to 1909. [4th edn., ed. M. J. C. Meiklejohn.] Edinburgh, Pillans & Wilson. [1909.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

This edition contains fuller information for early period.

The Fettes College register, 1870 to 1953. [7th edn., ed. H. G. Newman.] Edinburgh, Constable. 1954. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

FRAMLINGHAM COLLEGE

Framlingham College register [1865–1948]. [3rd edn.], ed. J. Booth. [Ipswich, Adlard.] 1949. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

FRIENDS' BOYS' SCHOOL, *York*, *see* BOOTHAM SCHOOL, YORK

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, *Saffron Walden* (Boys and Girls)

A complete list of scholars educated at Croydon School, from the opening in 1825 to its final removal to Saffron Walden in 1879. London, Farrington. 1882. Alph. (boys and girls separate). **Guildhall.**

FRIENDS' SCHOOL, *Wigton* (Boys and Girls)

Friends' School, Wigton, Cumberland, 1815–1953, ed. D. W. Reed. Carlisle, Thurnam. 1954. **B.M.**

Pp. 330–71, chronological lists, 1815–1953, boys and girls separate.

GIGGLESWICK SCHOOL

The Giggleswick School register, 1499 to 1921. [2nd edn.], ed. H. B. Atkinson. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland Press. [1922.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

GREAT AYTON SCHOOL (Boys and Girls)

History of Great Ayton School, published for the Jubilee Committee. Middlesbrough and London, Jordison. 1891. **U.L.**

Chronological lists, 1841–91, boys and girls separate.

GREENBANK SCHOOL, *Liverpool*

Greenbank School, Liverpool, 1888 to 1912. A memoir with a scroll of masters, mistresses and boys. Liverpool, Univ. Press; London, Hodder & Stoughton. 1939. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

GRESHAM'S SCHOOL, HOLT

Gresham's School: history and register, 1555–1954. History by C. L. S. Linnell, register comp. A. B. Douglas. [Ipswich, Cowell. 1955.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

HAILEYBURY AND IMPERIAL SERVICE COLLEGE

Haileybury register, 1862–1910. 4th edn., ed. L. S. Milford. London and Bungay, Clay. 1910. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

This edition contains fuller information for early period.

Haileybury register. 1862–1942, Haileybury College. 1942–61, Haileybury and Imperial Service College. 8th edn., ed. W. F. Hood. Hertford. [1962.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

United Services College. O.U.S.C. Society register. Canterbury, Gibbs. 1936. Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

The Imperial Service College register. [Cheshunt, Caxton Press.] 1956. Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE, *see also* EAST INDIA COLLEGE, *Haileybury*, *under* UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

HARROW SCHOOL

The Harrow School register, 1571–1800, comp. and ed. W. T. J. Gun. London, Longmans, Green. 1934. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Pt. i, 1571–1770; pt. ii, 1770–1800.

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Pp. 174–231, register of Old Boys. (Alph. Biog.)

KIBWORTH BEAUCHAMP GRAMMAR SCHOOL (Boys and Girls)

A history of Kibworth Beauchamp Grammar School, by B. Elliott. Market Harborough, Green. [1958.] **B.M.**

App. iii, names of pupils from 1886, under years.

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KING EDWARD VI GRAMMAR SCHOOL, *Bury St. Edmunds*

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App. ii, exhibitioners to the universities, under dates; app. iii, names from various lists, 1775–1855, and register 1855–1910, under dates.

KING'S SCHOOL, ROCHESTER

The Roffensian register, containing the names of all members of the school from 1835 to 1936. 4th edn. [ed. F. G. B. Wills]. Rochester, Mackays. 1937. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

KINGSWOOD SCHOOL

The Kingswood register, 1869–89, comprising the names of all who left the school between those dates, ed. W. P. Workman. Bath, Francis. 1896. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

This edition contains fuller information for early period.

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Pp. 237–325, list of scholars, 1812–78 (Alph. Biog.); pp. 326–9, chronological list of junior boys, 1878–82.

LANCASTER ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

A biographical register of the Royal Grammar School, Lancaster. Pt. i, from the 13th century to 1850; pt. ii, from 1850 to 1872, ed. A. Murray. Cambridge, Heffer; Edinburgh, Skinner. [1955], 1962. Biog. **B.M.**

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1848–1932.

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Laurel Bank School, 1903–53. Glasgow, Smith. 1953. **B.M.**

Pp. 247–84, Who's who, 1903–52. (Alph. Biog.)

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Pp. 1–7, some pupils from 1566 to 1820. (Biog.)

Leeds Grammar School admission books, from 1820 to 1900, ed. E. Wilson. (Thoresby Soc., xiv.) Leeds, [Whitehead]. 1906. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

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LONDONDERRY FREE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

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This edition contains fuller information for early period.

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MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The admission register of the Manchester School, with some notices of the more distinguished scholars, ed. J. F. Smith. Vol. i, 1730–75. Vol. ii, 1776–1807. Vol. iii, 1807–37. (Chetham Soc., lxix, lxxiii, xciii, xciv.) 3 vols. [Manchester.] 1866–74. Ind. (each vol.). Biog. **B.M.**

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A register of old scholars of the Mount School, York, 1931–2 [ed. H. Winifred Sturge]. Leominster, The Orphans' Printing Press. [1932.] Ind. Biog. **U.L.**

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NORTH OF ENGLAND AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL, *see* GREAT AYTON SCHOOL

OAKHAM SCHOOL, RUTLAND

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Pt. i, 1836–74; pt. ii, 1874–1906.

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THE PASTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL, *North Walsham*

A history of the Paston Grammar School, North Walsham, Norfolk, by C. R. Forder. North Walsham, pr. pr. 1934. **B.M.**

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PENKETH SCHOOL (Boys and Girls)

A history of Penketh School, 1834–1907, with the addition of a list of teachers and officers, and a list of scholars, by J. S. Hodgson. London, Headley. 1907. Ind. (surnames). **B.M.**

POCKLINGTON SCHOOL

Pocklington School admission register, 1626–1717, by H. Lawrance. In *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xxv (1920), 53–70. Ind. (in general index of vol. xxv). Biog. **B.M.**

QUEEN ELIZABETH SCHOOL, WAKEFIELD

History of the free grammar school of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield, by M. H. Peacock. Wakefield, Milnes. 1892. **B.M.**

Pp. 202–25, register of pupils, 1604–1891. (Ind.—incomplete. Biog.)

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The school roll from the beginning of the school in 1858 till its close in 1899 [ed. T. F. Figgis and T. W. E. Drury]. Dublin, Univ. Press. 1932. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

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THE ROYAL BELFAST ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION

The book of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution. Centenary volume, 1810–1910, ed. J. R. Fisher. Belfast, M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr. 1913. **B.M.**

Pp. 245–330, chronological lists of students and scholars, 1814–1911. Pp. 160–87, famous Instonians: selected biographies. (Ind.)

ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, LANCASTER, *see* LANCASTER ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

Schola Novocastrensis. A biographical history of the Royal Free Grammar School of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by A. R. Laws. Vol. i, 1545–1699. Vol. ii, 1700–1845. 2 vols. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland Press. 1925–32. Ind. (each vol.). Biog. **B.M.**

Register of the Royal Grammar School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1545–1954, comp. and ed. B. D. Stevens. Gateshead, Northumberland Press. 1955. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

Annual lists from 1871; incomplete lists before 1840, and for 1840–50, 1850–60, 1860–70.

ROYAL INDIAN MILITARY COLLEGE, *Addiscombe*

Addiscombe: its heroes and men of note, by H. M. Vibart. London, Constable. 1894. **B.M.**

Pp. 661–704, chronological list of Addiscombe cadets, 1809–61. Names of officers with biographical notices in the text are indexed.

ROYAL INSTITUTION SCHOOL, *Liverpool*

Some account of the Royal Institution School, Liverpool, with a roll of masters and boys, 1819 to 1892, by A. T. Brown. 2nd edn. Liverpool, Univ. Press. 1927. Ind. Biog. **L.H.R.**

ROYAL NAUTICAL COLLEGE, *Pangbourne*

Register of Old Pangbournians (to March 1963). [3rd edn., ed. A. H. White and H. C. Sykes.] London, Drayton Printing Works. [1963.] Alph. Biog. **L.H.R.**

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ROYAL SCHOOL, *Armagh*

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Chronological list of pupils, 1667–1929.

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Rugby School register, 1858–91, revised and annotated by F. J. Salt. Rugby, Over. 1952. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

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Pp. 127–225, Old Rydalians, 1885–1935. (Alph. Biog.)

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ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE, BRADFIELD, *see* BRADFIELD COLLEGE

ST. CHAD'S COLLEGE, DENSTONE, *see* DENSTONE COLLEGE

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This edition contains fuller information for early period.

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ST. EDMUND'S SCHOOL, CANTERBURY

Register of the Clergy Orphan School for Boys, 1751–1896, ed. M. J. Simmonds. Canterbury, St. Augustine's College. 1897. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

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This edition contains fuller information for early period.

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ST. GREGORY'S COLLEGE, *see* DOWNSIDE SCHOOL, BATH

S. JOHN'S COLLEGE, HURSTPIERPOINT, *see* HURSTPIERPOINT COLLEGE

ST. JOHN'S SCHOOL

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Register of St. Lawrence College, 1879 to 1953. Vol. i, 1879–1929; vol. ii, 1930–53. 4th edn. [ed. F. W. McCombe]. 2 vols. [Ramsgate, Thanet Printing Works.] 1955. Ind. Biog. **LH.R.**

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ST. OMERS, *see* STONYHURST COLLEGE

ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE, *Carlow*, *see* CARLOW COLLEGE

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL CHOIR SCHOOL

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The admission registers of St. Paul's School from 1876 to 1905, ed. R. B. Gardiner. London, Bell. 1906. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

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ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, RADLEY, *see* RADLEY COLLEGE

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, WESTMINSTER, *see* WESTMINSTER SCHOOL

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Chronological lists.

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ST. STEPHEN'S HOSPITAL, *Cork*

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SEDBERGH SCHOOL

The Sedbergh School register, 1546 to 1909. [2nd edn., ed. B. Wilson.] Leeds, Jackson. 1909. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

The Sedbergh School register, 1875 to 1928. [3rd edn.] Sedbergh, Jackson. 1930. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

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Chronological lists.

Shrewsbury School register, 1636 to 1664. Admittances and readmittances, together with additional names of scholars from 1664 to 1734, ed. J. E. Auden. Shrewsbury, Brown & Brinnand. 1917. Ind. **B.M.**

Pp. 70–6, names of scholars, 1664–1734. (Biog.)

Shrewsbury School register, 1734–1908, ed. J. E. Auden. Oswestry, Woodall, Minshall, Thomas. 1909. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

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Register of Old Scholars, 1808–1958, ed. Mary D. Blaschko. Winscombe, Sidcot School. 1958. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

SOUTH EASTERN COLLEGE, *see* ST. LAWRENCE COLLEGE

SOUTHWELL MINSTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

An account of the grammar and song schools of the collegiate church of Blessed Mary the Virgin of Southwell, by W. A. James. Lincoln, Ruddock. 1927. **B.M.**

Pp. 95–107, chronological list of choristers, 1469–1852; pp. 111–13, chronological list from the Board of Education admission registers, 1900–26; pp. 115–28, biographical notes from the registers of St. John's College, Cambridge, and elsewhere. (Alph. Biog.)

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A register of Stamford School, 1532–1960. Stamford, Dolby Bros. 1961. Alph. **L.H.R.**

1st supplement. 1963. Alph. **L.H.R.**

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St. Omers composition lists. St. Omers boys 1622–48, 1648–70 [transcribed by C. T. Boothman]. In *Stonyhurst Magazine*, iv (1890–2), 492–6, 793–8. Alph. (each section). **B.M.**

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE SCHOOL

Alphabetical and chronological register for 1831–91, ed. T. Orme. London, Lawrence. [1891.] Alph. Biog. **I.H.R.**

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'...the last which will include monographs of boys who entered the School in the early days.'

WESTMINSTER SCHOOL

The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, admitted on that foundation since 1663, and of such as have been thence elected to Christ Church, Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge, by J. Welch. New edn. [by C. B. Phillimore]. London, Ginger. 1852. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

The record of Old Westminsters: a biographical list of all those who are known to have been educated at Westminster School from the earliest times to 1927, comp. G. F. Russell Barker and A. H. Stenning. 2 vols. London, Chiswick Press. 1928. Alph. Biog. **B.M.**

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History of the Whitgift Grammar School, with a register of all Whitgiftians from 1871 to 1892. Croydon, Hayward. 1892. Ind. Biog. **I.H.R.**

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Winchester scholars. A list of the wardens, fellows and scholars by T. F. Kirby. London, Frowde. 1888. Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

Scholars 1393–1887.

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The house roll of Southgate Hill, from the commencement of the house as a tutor's house for Winchester College in February 1862, ed. J. T. H. Du Boulay. Winchester, Warren. [1883.] Biog. **Soc. Geneal.**

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History of Windlesham House School, 1837–1937, by G. H. Wilson. [London, McCorquodale. 1937.] **I.H.R.**

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Wolverhampton Grammar School register, 1515–1920 [ed. H. R. Thomas and J. Ryan]. Kendal, Wilson. [1927.] Ind. Biog. **B.M.**

WOODBRIDGE SCHOOL

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WOODHOUSE GROVE SCHOOL, *see* KINGSWOOD SCHOOL

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Worksop College, 1895–1955 [ed. A. de M. Beanland]. [Rochdale, Yates. 1955.] **B.M.**

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A register of Old Wycliffians, 1882–1926, comp. J. D. N[ewth], B. T. P[arkin] and W. A. S[ibly]. [3rd edn.] Gloucester, Bellows. 1926. Alph. Biog. **LH.R.**

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Bath College
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Campbell College
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Bromsgrove School
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King's School, Bruton
Sexey's School
BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Suffolk
King Edward VI Grammar School

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CANFORD, Dorset
Canford School
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CASTLETOWN, Isle of Man
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Dean Close School, Cheltenham
CHIGWELL, Essex
Chigwell School
CLEVEDON, Somerset
Walton Lodge
COLCHESTER, Essex
Colchester Royal Grammar School
COLWYN BAY, Denbighshire
Rydal School
CORK
St. Stephen's Hospital
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NAAS, co. Kildare
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NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME, Staffordshire
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NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
Royal Grammar School, Newcastle-upon-Tyne
NEWPORT, Salop
Adams' Grammar School
NORTH WALSHAM, Norfolk
The Paston Grammar School
NORTHWOOD, Middlesex
Merchant Taylors' School

OAKHAM, Rutland
Oakham School, Rutland
OXFORD
City of Oxford High School
St. Edward's School
Summer Fields

PANGBOURNE, Berkshire
Royal Nautical College
PENKETH, Lancashire
Penketh School
PETERSFIELD, Hampshire
Bedales School
Churcher's College
POCKLINGTON, E.R. Yorkshire
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RADLEY, Berkshire
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St. Lawrence College
REPTON, Derbyshire
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ROCHESTER, Kent
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SHERBORNE, Dorset
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SOUTHWELL, Nottinghamshire
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STAMFORD, Lincolnshire
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Blundell's School
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TRURO, Cornwall
Truro School
TWYFORD, Hampshire
Twyford School

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Worksop College

YORK
Bootham School, York
The Mount School, York
St. Peter's School, York

Notes and Documents

Fifteenth-century baronial incomes and Richard, duke of York

A TRUER KNOWLEDGE of fifteenth-century baronial incomes would do much to put the whole question of how, if not why, the Wars of the Roses were fought into a clearer perspective. When H. L. Gray used the assessments of 1436 in an effort to calculate baronial incomes, he accepted the assessments as reliable: possibly 'the usually favoured classes became patriotic', the administrators were 'men of public spirit', 'presumably upright'.[1] More recently T. B. Pugh and C. D. Ross have charged Gray with naïveté, and the figures of 1436 with being much inflated: 'We cannot be satisfied that any rigorous scrutiny of baronial incomes was attempted [in 1436], for, although the barons were examined individually, the method of assessment used does not inspire confidence.' They suggest that the situation will only be clarified when there has been a 'detailed study of the revenues of individual baronial families'.[2]

It is proposed to show how such a detailed study indicates the probable income of the duke of York.[3] This income can be calculated approximately, if the use of documents from different years in the fifteenth century is accepted as a valid method of working. Gray on the one hand and Pugh and Ross on the other agree in putting York at the head of the list of baronial incomes, but they disagree as to the sums involved. Gray estimated York's income at £3,230 (of which £761 came from royal annuities rather than land). Ross and Pugh state that York 'in fact enjoyed a total income more than double the sum of £3,230 on which he was expected to pay tax'.[4]

York's income appears to have been larger than the amount accepted by Gray, but well below that projected by Pugh and Ross. First, they depended too much for their information upon a single document, the *valor* for 21–22

[1] H. L. Gray, 'Incomes from land in England in 1436', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlix (1934), 609, 611. Gray does realize that the ground is shaky: 'Although, therefore, we cannot be assured of the reliability of the returns, there is more reason for accepting them than for distrusting them' (p. 612).

[2] T. B. Pugh and C. D. Ross, 'The English baronage and the income tax of 1436', *ante*, xxvi (1953), pp. 3 and 2 respectively.

[3] This detailed study is an unpublished Chicago Ph.D. thesis by the author: 'The Estates and Finances of Richard, Duke of York.'

[4] Pugh and Ross, 'The English baronage', p. 14.

Henry VI.[1] This, upon comparison with other sources for York's lands, looks to be not a typical evaluation, and must be used with discretion. Secondly, there is a vast difference between estimated value of the lands and the income they returned, and Pugh and Ross fail to take this into account. It is certainly easy to attack the honesty of a medieval baron, and one is often tempted to press for the largest admissible sums.[2] However, neither by totalling the values as found on the extant *valors* nor by using ministers' accounts can anything approaching the estimated £6,500 be found.[3]

Of the two ways of calculating York's landed income, that from the *valors* will be considered first. These *valors* baldly state the worth of the lands, serving as an 'illustration of the improved techniques of estate management' discernible by the fifteenth century.[4] There are two obstacles that must be dealt with before the figures in Table I below are clear. The first is that none of the extant *valors* for York's lands list all of the receiverships: the largest, that for 21–22 Henry VI, covers but ten. The second is that some of the values listed in given *valors* are not 'typical', i.e., they are not anywhere near conformity with other indications of the worth of the receivership, and they contain unusual sources of income which were probably not received regularly. Such criteria must contain an element of conjecture, but an examination of any general trends that are discernible is better than a generalization based upon a single document.

Table I lists the value of nineteen receiverships (Maelynyd is missing, as it appears on none of the extant *valors*), chosen from seven extant fifteenth-century *valors*. Eleven of the receiverships figure on a single *valor*, and the other eight have been chosen from a *valor* where the value given is 'typical'. The total value from the *valors*, £4,696, is below the figure Pugh and Ross anticipated. However, it is well in excess of the amount which Gray accepted, i.e., the income at which York assessed himself.

The other source for York's landed income is the ministers' accounts. Despite the well-known shortcomings of ministers' accounts as a source on economic matters,[5] they are the best extant source. Unlike the *valors*,

[1] Public Record Office, Rentals and Surveys, SC 11/818. The values listed for various receiverships in this *valor* are in excess of those listed on other *valors* and/or in the extant receivers' accounts. This does not necessarily mean they are incorrect, but it does mean they are 'atypical' and should not be accepted as the usual value without corroboration. This corroboration cannot be found. Denbigh seems too high, at a value of £524 after expenses, Rhadre at £479, Clifford at £221 and Usk at £505.

[2] As biographers often end as admirers of their subject, so those who deal with finances must resist the constant tendency to magnify the sums concerned, particularly when the sums are the almost infinitesimal ones encountered before the 'price revolution' of the 16th cent.

[3] Or do Pugh and Ross simply mean a total of £5,000, i.e., twice Gray's figure after the deduction of annuities?

[4] C. D. Ross and T. B. Pugh, 'Materials for the study of baronial incomes in 15th-century England', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., vi (1954), 185–94.

[5] E. M. Carus-Wilson, 'Evidences of industrial growth on some 15th-century manors', *ibid.*, 2nd ser., xii (1959), 197.

which were meant to be terse and summary, ministers' accounts were the actual working documents, compiled by the accounting officials. The proper understanding of the accounts is a key unlocking both modern questions and fifteenth-century concepts. A study of form can reveal much about content.

The first problem is that to find accounts for as many of the receiverships as possible, one must range through much of the century. Fifteen receiverships are covered in this way. Then it must be remembered that most of

TABLE I

VALUES OF RECEIVERSHIPS, AS BASED ON THE *VALORS*

Receivership	*Value* £	*Year*	*Valor*	
			Public Record Office	*Westminster Abbey Muniments*
Montgom.	382	1 Hen. VI	E 142/38	
Rhadre	359	3 Hen. VI	E 142/39	
Hereford	285	3 Hen. VI	E 142/39	
Clifford	71	3 Hen. VI	E 142/39	
Wigmore	325	21–22 Hen. VI	SC 11/818	
Salop[1]	142	21–22 Hen. VI	SC 11/818	
Radnors.	189	21–22 Hen. VI	SC 11/818	
Buelth[1]	177	21–22 Hen. VI	SC 11/818	
Nerberth[1]	51	21–22 Hen. VI	SC 11/818	
Usk and Caerlyon[1]	305	21–22 Hen. VI	SC 11/818	
Northants.–Linc.[1]	157	Early Edw. IV		12158[2]
Oxon.–Bucks.[1]	112	Early Edw. IV		12158[2]
Clare (with southern manors)[1]	462	Early Edw. IV		12158[2]
Herts.[1]	140	Early Edw. IV		12158[2]
Denbighs.	360	7–8 Edw. IV	SC 11/866	
Yorks.[1]	350	3 Hen. VII	SC 12/17/18	
Dorset–Somerset	310	12 Hen. VII		12172
Glos.[1]	180	12 Hen. VII		12172
Wilts.–Hants–Berks.[1]	339	12 Hen. VII		12172
	4,696			

York's extant accounts omit a few manors in each receivership in any given year. The documents were used by the duke despite this deficiency, and so must they be used today. Lastly, the items in the ministers' accounts must be transposed to show: (1) the total receipts due to the lord, (2) how much of this was dischargeable as expenses, (3) how much remained as profit, (4) how much of the profit was actually paid to and collected by the lord (*liberationes denariorum*), and (5) how much was carried forward into the future (*debet*). No ministers' account tells the value of the lands as such.

[1] These 11 receiverships figure on a single *valor*.

[2] There is no date on this *valor*, but it states that Richard is the father of King Edward IV.

'Value' is defined here as the present year's receipt minus the present year's expenses, and the figure has been extracted from each account.

Table II is a composite one, showing how each of the fifteen receiverships appears in a 'typical' ministers' account. The two significant sums in this table are the values and the *liberationes denariorum*. The value represents what the manor would have been worth to York each year if neither arrears nor uncollectable charges entered the picture. The *liberationes denariorum*

TABLE II—

	Dorset & Som. 38–9 *Hen. VI* P.R.O.[1], SC6/1113/14	*Clare* 29–30 *Hen. VI* *Westminster Abbey Muniments* 12167	*Yorks.* 39 *Hen. VI*–1 *Edw. IV* P.R.O., DL29/560/8899	*Glos.* 36–7 *Hen. VI* SC6/850/28	*Bucks. & Oxon.* 1–2 *Ric. III* SC6/764/11	*Herts.* 8–9 *Edw. IV* SC6/870/6	*Northants.–Lincs.* 30–1 *Hen. VI* SC6/1115/7
Total Receipts	512	894	1281	431	264	342	620
From present year	403	544	483	231	149	190	353
From arrears	109	350	798	200	116	152	264
Total Expenses	146	336	139	88	107	85	203
From present year	62	202	80	52	32	60	113
From arrears	84	132	59	36	75	25	90
Total Profit	376	556	1144	343	157	255	416
From present year	337	342	403	179	117	135	242
From arrears	39	218	739	164	40	120	174
Total *Liberationes Denariorum*	286	296	342	87	99	135	321
From present year	—	216	238	59	92	110	196
From arrears	—	80	104	28	7	25	125
Total *Debet*	80	271	804	256	58	123	95
From present year	—	134	181	120	18	25	46
From arrears	—	137	623	136	40	95	49
Value of the Receivership	341	342	403	179	117	130	240

represent the cash actually collected from the lands. About sixty-five per cent of the *liberationes denariorum* usually came from money owed to York on that year's charges, and the remaining thirty-five per cent was from arrears, then being collected. If the value as taken from the 'typical' *valor* (Table I) is compared with that taken from the representative ministers' accounts (Table II)[2] and with the *liberationes denariorum* from that same ministers'

[1] Ministers' accounts in SC 6 in other headings are all in the Public Record Office.

[2] The ministers' accounts for 3 Hen. VI are for less than an entire year, being for one-half year and 71 days. However, where a ministers' account is preserved for some of the English receiverships for that year, the sums charged were only slightly below the regular charges.

account, a significant comparison emerges in Table III. According to this calculation, the values as taken from the *valors* were considerably in excess of anything dealt with by the accountants of the duke engaged in actual collection. It was the *liberationes denariorum* which were actually collected; £2,826 from fifteen receiverships dealt with.

The *liberationes denariorum* come to seventy per cent only of the value as taken from the *valors*, and eighty-one per cent of the value as taken from the

MINISTERS' ACCOUNTS

Hereford 7–8 *Edw. IV* SC6/1067/15	*Wilts.–Hants–Berks.* 28–9 *Hen. VI* SC6/1115/1	*Salop* 13–14 *Edw. IV* SC6/966/13	*Montgom.* 3 *Hen. VI* SC6/1206/11	*Radnor.* 19–20 *Edw. IV* SC6/1209/18	*Denbigh.* 4–5 *Hen. VI* SC6/1185/16	*Wigmore* 3 *Hen. VI* SC6/1236/8	*Usk* 1 *Hen. V* SC6/928/23	*Totals for all* 15
728	719	790	231	237	320	111	1079	8,558[1]
288	432	172	231	140	320	111	451	4,498[1]
440	287	618	0	97	0	0	666	4,092[1]
242	177	613	30	72	62	31	625	2,956
52	100	73	13	44	18	11	105	1,017
190	77	540	17	28	44	20	520	1,937
486	540	200	200	165	247	80	486	5,651
236	330	90	200	96	—	80	346	3,133[2]
250	210	110	0	68	—	0	140	2,272[2]
221	320	75	66	72	217	73	216	2,826
94	138	10	66	—	—	73	216	1,506[2]
127	182	65	0	—	—	0	0	743[2]
265	220	125	140	98	30	7	267	2,839
142	190	80	140	—	—	7	127	1,210[2]
123	30	35	0	—	—	0	140	1,408[2]
236	332	99	218	96	302	100	346	3,481

ministers' accounts. What happened to the missing nineteen per cent (£655)? It is futile to say that it was carried forward as arrears, since the *liberationes denariorum* in any given year was usually composed of about thirty-five per cent arrears, carried forward from previous years. The truth seems to be that the machinery merely ran at eighty-one per cent efficiency, or thereabouts. Money collected in a given year, both from that year's charges and from arrears, was only about eighty per cent of what York

[1] The discrepancy in the totals is caused by the difficulty of separating arrears from present year's receipt in each category of receipt.

[2] As various components cannot be analyzed, the sum is greater than that of the two parts which can be analyzed.

should have had from that year's charges alone. An exhaustive study of York's accounts shows that rarely did the *liberationes denariorum* equal or exceed the value, and then almost never without the help of huge arrears. A permanent loss of about twenty per cent of the revenues was seemingly unavoidable. The memory of this should serve as a check upon exuberant statements about the wonders of late medieval administrative machinery.

Five receiverships are not covered in Tables II and III: Maelynyd, Rhadre, Clifford, Buelth and Nerberth. Maelynyd appears only in a ministers' account, SC 6/1209/17, for 3 Henry VI. Its value is £227, its *liberationes denariorum* £120. The 'typical' *valors* show the value of the

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF THE SOURCES, *VALORS* AND ACCOUNTS

Receivership	*Value from the* valor *in Table I* £	*Value from ministers' account in Table II*	Liberationes Denariorum, *Table II*
Dorset–Somerset	310	341	286
Clare	462	342	296
Yorks.	350	403	342
Glos.	180	179	87
Oxon.–Bucks.	112	117	99
Herts.	140	130	135
Northants.–Lincs.	157	240	321
Hereford	285	236	221
Wilts.–Hants–Berks.	339	332	320
Salop	142	99	75
Montgom.	382	218	66
Radnors.	189	96	72
Denbighs.	360	302	217
Wigmore	325	100	73
Usk and Caerlyon	305	346	216
	4,038 (100%)	3,481 (86%) (100%)	2,826 (70%) (81%)

remaining four receiverships to be £360, £75, £175 and £50 respectively. Thus the total value for the five receiverships is £887, and seventy per cent (the usual *liberationes denariorum*) of this is £621. This amount, added to £2,826, produces £3,447. Such a sum, realized in the non-existent 'typical' year, is much below that projected by Pugh and Ross, and forty per cent over the sum accepted by Gray with annuities deducted, and only seven per cent over Gray's figure if the £761 in annuities is included. So it would seem as though Gray's calculations are not necessarily so wide of the mark.

Even the most honest of men distinguish at times between the whole truth and nothing but the truth. York, indeed, was assessed in 1436 at a value far below that reported on the *valors*, but only slightly below the values

he was likely to have realized. If we remember that the lords need not have assessed themselves so severely, if at all, that they may have had only the most elementary notions of their own worth, and that statistical precision was neither sought for nor demanded, then we must be less ready to assert that the barons deliberately and consciously concealed their real worth from the Crown. York's self-assessed income seems to have been a realistic estimate and this may well have been the case with many of his peers.

J. T. ROSENTHAL

John Wyclyf and Richard Flemyng, Bishop of Lincoln: Gleanings from German Sources

IN THE ANNALS of diplomacy the treaty of Canterbury, concluded in 1416 between Henry V of England and Sigismund, king of the Germans, belongs to those alliances which failed to achieve their objective[1]: the pact of mutual assistance, embodied in the treaty, did not lead to the humiliation of France envisaged by the signatories.[2] Sigismund, preoccupied as he was between 1414 and 1422 with the deliberations of the council of Constance, the intrigues of the German electors, and the outbreak of the Hussite rebellion in Bohemia (whose king he was elected in 1420 following the death of his brother Wenceslaus IV), never dispatched the promised armies to the help of Henry V. Hence, the grim business of war in France against the Armagnacs was carried on by the English king alone. Moreover, the submission of the dauphin—even after the conclusion of the treaty of Troyes in 1420—was not in sight. In view of these setbacks, appeals for help to allies were indispensable, as Henry V had recognized, for English victory in France. In a last desperate effort, therefore, to remind Sigismund of the duties which he had assumed but had not fulfilled, 'after his many Promesses and often tymes writing', Henry V empowered Richard Flemyng, bishop of Lincoln, to deal with the king of the Germans and the electors about soldiers and arms.[3]

[1] The treaty of Canterbury has been discussed by M. Lenz, *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England* (Berlin, 1874); J. Caro, *Das Bündniss von Canterbury* (Gotha, 1880); J. H. Wylie and W. T. Waugh, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (3 vols., Oxford, 1914–29), iii. 9–35.

[2] The text of the treaty with the ratification of the electors is in *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vii. 332–45, nos. 224–9 (henceforth referred to as *RTA*). Cf. also *Foedera*, ix. 377–82. The proposed military co-operation is embodied in the concluding articles, *ibid.*, pp. 379–80.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 161–3. The quoted words, p. 163. Henry V sent another embassy with the same aim to the king of Portugal, *ibid.*, pp. 167–8. For information on Flemyng see *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, ed. A. B. Emden (3 vols., Oxford, 1956–9), ii. 697–9, and R. L. Poole, *DNB*, xix. 282–4.

The royal instructions issued to Flemyng are dated 18 December 1421 and, together with the safe-conduct of 14 January 1422, patent letters of the same date and Flemyng's account with the exchequer, are the only sources that historians have hitherto worked with.[1] Other details connected with the mission have so far been unknown. With the help of German documents however, we may reconstruct, at least in outline, the itinerary and incidents of the bishop's trip.

Bishop Flemyng crossed the Channel soon after 23 February 1422, but we lose sight of him immediately afterwards.[2] He re-appears, however, two months later in Nürnberg. From the records of the Nürnberg *Schenkbuch* (*Propinationes*) we learn that on 15 April 1422, he paid 1 *lb* 19 *sh* 8 *hllr* for 14 *qr* of wine.[3] But Nürnberg was only a stop in the bishop's itinerary to the court of Sigismund. We consequently meet him the following month in Regensburg expecting, together with Cardinal Branda, the papal legate, the king's arrival from his Hungarian domain for the opening of the *Reichstag* which he had himself summoned.[4] In Regensburg Flemyng marked time: Sigismund, as was his custom, did not keep his word and postponed the meeting until 1 July 1422.[5] But when he finally arrived in Regensburg on 20 July, the electors he had summoned and, presumably, Bishop Flemyng, were not there; the former had chosen Nürnberg as the site of the *Reichstag* and Sigismund, too weak to resist their will and power, followed their steps

[1] *Foedera*, ix. 161–3, 167 and 168–9. L. Mirot and E. Deprez, 'Les ambassades anglaises pendant la guerre de Cent Ans. Catalogue chronologique (1327–1450)', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, lxi (1900), 30, no. 602. C. L. Kingsford, for instance, wrote: 'We do not know how this embassy fared in Germany' (*Henry V, the Typical Medieval Hero* (New York, 1901), p. 367). There is a short note concerning the embassy in K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (2nd edn., 1913), p. 381.

[2] Mirot and Deprez, *ubi supra*.

[3] *RTA*, viii. 225, no. 184. There is also an entry in the *Schenkbuch* for an unidentified counsellor from France and England: 'propinavimus des von Frankreych und England reten 8 *qr.*; Summa 1 *lb* 2 *sh* und 8 *hllr.*' *Ibid.*, pp. 225–6. According to K. Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter* (3 vols., Leipzig, 1885–6), ii. 500–12, one *qr.* (*viertel*) fluctuated between 5 and 7 litres (9–12 pints).

[4] Andreas of Regensburg, *Chronica Husitarum* in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. G. Leidinger, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, Neue Folge, vol. i (Munich, 1903), pp. 373–4. Sigismund sent out invitations on 8 March 1422 for the *Reichstag*, which was to be opened on the last day of May. J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, XI. i. 337–8, nos. 4763–821 (henceforth referred to as *RI*). The decision to hold the *Reichstag* was connected with the defeat of the Germans under Sigismund by the Hussites at Německý Brod in Jan. 1422. See F. Palacký, *Geschichte von Böhmen* (5 vols., Prague, 1844–67), III. ii. 267–75. In view of these unexpected military developments, Sigismund sent messengers to Germany in the middle of Feb. 'umb hilf wider gen Beheim an sie zu werben'. *RTA*, viii. 114–16, nos. 99 and 100. Moreover, the electors had behaved suspiciously. Were they planning a coup against Sigismund? Andreas of Regensburg so reported. *Chronica Husitarum*, p. 375. Cf. on this complex question F. von Bezold, *König Sigmund und die Reichskriege gegen die Husiten bis zum Ausgang des dritten Kreuzzugs* (Munich, 1872), pp. 74–7.

[5] *RTA*, viii. 124–5, no. 110, 1 May 1422.

after some hesitation.[1] So, at the time of the *Reichstag* we find the bishop of Lincoln in Nürnberg for the second time. His name figures on the list of dignitaries assembled there and his presence is confirmed in the business correspondence of the Teutonic Knights. In addition, the Nürnberg *Schenkbuch* lists again his wine expenses.[2]

The available records are silent as to whether Flemyng ever had an opportunity to perform his duty, and discussed Sigismund's obligations to the English king. In view of Sigismund's and the electors' concern with the situation in Bohemia, which necessitated the call-up of a crusading host against the recalcitrant Bohemian heretics, doubts may be raised that such a discussion did take place.[3] At any rate, the available evidence leads us to believe that Flemyng left Nürnberg before the final adjournment of the *Reichstag*, on or soon after 13 September 1422.[4]

Flemyng's mission bore no fruit, for the bishop of Lincoln returned to England in the last days of September without the soldiers he was supposed to recruit and, even worse, without apparent hope of getting any in the foreseeable future.[5] Moreover, in the closing months of 1422 the alliance between Henry V and Sigismund was already a part of the past: Henry was dead and Sigismund's movements intimate that he was no longer interested in possible conquests of French territory. Consequently, in the autumn of 1422 we locate him on his way to his Hungarian kingdom and, as the *Regesta Imperii* suggest, a holiday in Košice. From there he moved to his capital Ofen (Buda) where his most important state activity consisted in granting privileges to the gypsies then slowly moving to the west.[6] The treaty with Henry V was forgotten.

However, for the church historian, and especially the Wyclyf scholar, the mission of the bishop of Lincoln has a sequel with additional rewarding facts, a by-product of his mission, as it were. In Regensburg, where Flemyng had

[1] *Chronica Husitarum*, p. 374; *RI*, XI. i. 345, no 4889a, 20 July 1422; *RTA*, viii. 132, no. 123, 18 July 1422. The electors who assembled in June in Wesel sent out a summons for the next *Reichstag* and set the date on 15 July 1422. They chose Nürnberg as the place of the meeting and informed Sigismund of their decision. *RTA*, viii. 125–6, no. 111. The assembled electors in Nürnberg turned down Sigismund's request to return to Regensburg. *Chronica Husitarum*, p. 374.

[2] *Eberhart Windeckes Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigmunds*, ed. W. Altmann (Berlin, 1893), p. 157. *RTA*, viii. 137 and 230, nos. 129 and 184. Cf. *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert* vol. X (Die Chroniken der fränkischen Städte, Nürnberg, iv, Leipzig, 1872), p. 141, where Flemyng is apparently reported as 'ein legat'.

[3] Cardinal Branda consecrated a papal banner to the crusaders and Sigismund appointed the elector of Brandenburg as military leader of the crusaders' host. *RI*, XI. i. 362, nos. 5132a, 5133, 4 and 5 Sept. 1422.

[4] The last document of the *Reichstag*, Sigismund's approval of 'zu verbinden' addressed to the knights, is dated 13 Sept. 1422. *RTA*, viii. 219–20, no. 181. The first document following the *Reichstag* is dated 24 Sept. 1422 in Regensburg. *RI*, XI. i. 371, no. 5290.

[5] Mirot and Deprez, *ubi supra*, p. 30.

[6] *RI*, XI. i. 387 and 389–93, nos. 5485a–93 and 5507–8. J. Aschbach, *Geschichte Kaiser Sigmund's* (4 vols., Hamburg, 1838–45), iii. 178, 180.

stayed for some time in anticipation of Sigismund's arrival, the Augustinian canon and chronicler Andreas of Regensburg cornered the bishop to question him on John Wyclyf.[1] The information he received from Flemyng was new and interesting, and he entered it into his main work.

Andreas tells us in his *Chronica pontificum et imperatorum* that he met the bishop of Lincoln, 'a most renowned man', in the summer of 1422. He mentions the occasion of Flemyng's presence in Regensburg and explains how he personally approached the English bishop to question him 'with his modestly furnished mind' on the origin and meaning of the word 'Wicleff' for the instruction of future generations. Flemyng obliged and Andreas recorded for posterity his valuable words. The well-informed bishop told Andreas that 'Wicleff was a name of a village (*villa*) in the diocese of York, a metropolitan see in England, from which came the said heresiarch Johannes Wicleff, priest and doctor of theology'. Flemyng then added, according to Andreas, that 'from the name of this village he was called by the English Wicleff and was born, on the strength of known facts, of respectable parents'. To conclude his information Flemyng offered to the Augustinian canon a Latin interpretation of Wyclyf's name which seems to have been common among his opponents. In brief, said Flemyng, 'Wicleff was an English name, a name which in Latin meant "wicked life"'.[2]

[1] The importance of Andreas of Regensburg as chronicler of the Hussite wars has been emphasized both by F. Palacký, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges vom Jahre 1419 an* (2 vols., Prague, 1873), i, pp. ix and x; and C. A. C. von Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber der Hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, ii, vi, vii, Vienna, 1856–66), ii, p. lxi. In more recent times B. Schmeidler presented a valuable account in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters—Verfasserlexikon* (5 vols., Berlin, 1933–55), i, cols. 74–9. A short but informative article may be found in the *Neue deutsche Biographie*, i (1953), p. 283, by H. Plechl. A severe judgment has been passed on Andreas by O. Lorenz and A. Goldmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., 3rd edn., Berlin, 1886–7), i. 190–1.

[2] 'Item cum anno domini 1422, tempore estatis Richardus episcopus Lincolniensis, suffraganeus Cantuariensis metropolis, ab Anglia Ratisponam propter congregacionem principum ibidem fiendam venisset, ego frater N. volens, ut noticia termini, a quo cepit heresis Wiclefistarum in noticiam perveniat posterorum, predictum episcopum Lincolniensem, virum famosum, personaliter accessi et premissis secundum facultatem ingenioli mei premittendis quesivi ab eo de origine et interpretacione huius termini Wicleff. Qui dixit michi, quod Wicleff est nomen ville Eboracensis diocesis, que est una metropolis in Anglia, de qua dictus heresiarcha Johannes Wicleff presbiter, doctor theologie, extitit oriundus, a qua et tota nacio [*sic*] dicta est Wicleff, genitus quidem honestis parentibus secundum seculi apparenciam. Wicleff autem interpretatum anglice latine sonat iniqua vita.' (Andreas of Regensburg, *Chronica pontificum et imperatorum Romanorum*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, p. 158.)

The name 'Wicleff' was explained on similar lines by Thomas Walsingham and Thomas Gascoigne. In his *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. E. Riley (2 vols., Rolls Ser., 1862), i. 451, Walsingham described Wyclyf as 'collega Sathanae, Wyclyff sive Wikkebeleve', and in *Loci e libro veritatum*, ed. Thorold Rogers (Oxford, 1881), pp. 141 and 234, the Oxford chancellor Gascoigne denounced 'Wiclyffe nequam vita'.

This information concerning Wyclyf's place of origin is the earliest evidence we have for associating Wyclyf with the present-day village of Wycliffe in the North Riding of the county of York.[1] It re-affirms not only Walsingham's statement that he was a *borealis* but also confirms the views of those historians for whom Wyclyf's name is a more valuable indicator of his place of origin than testimonies of octogenarians.[2] However, this new information, like nearly everything linked to Wyclyf's life, is not without contradictions. For with some astonishment we note that Andreas inserted material into his chronicle which contradicts—without any kind of *caveat* to the reader—the testimony of the bishop of Lincoln which he had himself collected. The short *curriculum vitae* in the same *Chronica* relates that 'in the times of the Emperor Charles IV [1346–1378] Wigkleff was a Master of the University of Oxford and country parish priest in the diocese of Canterbury'.[3] Following this partly faulty information[4] comes an unexpected revelation: 'As someone (*quidam*) told me,' continues Andreas, '[Wyclyf] was born in England from a Jewish father and a Christian mother who, after the death of her husband, arrived as a destitute widow in England from France'.[5]

The identification of Andreas' source for these contradictory bits of information is not easy. Moreover, the *curriculum vitae* oddly resembles that of Peter Payne, the Hussite radical, whose father was French.[6] But we are here on uncertain ground. The *quidam* might have been the enigmatic Thomas Cardigan O.P. from whom Andreas elicited information concerning the wealth of Aquitaine and from whom he had probably learned about the reasons leading to the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War; but we shall probably never identify *quidam*.[7] Furthermore, no English source ever recorded this curious conglomeration of facts concerning Wyclyf's parents; and, as a matter of conjecture only, it is hard to believe that at least Thomas

[1] The village has a long history. We hear of it *c.* 1050 and again at the time of the Domesday Inquest. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edn., Oxford, 1960), p. 540, and A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 300.

[2] Walsingham, i. 323. On the basis of a statement made by one John Chapman, 81 years old, the (non-existing) hamlet of Spreswell or Speswell was the birthplace of Wyclyf. He added, however, that, 'The Plough has passed over its site, and all is quite level.' *The Athenaeum*, 12 March 1892, p. 344.

[3] Andreas of Regensburg, *Chronica pontificum*, p. 142.

[4] Wyclyf's parishes, Ludgershall and Lutterworth, were in Lincoln diocese, and his prebend at Westbury was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Worcester. Could Andreas' information be a mistaken transcription of a reference to Canterbury College in Oxford of which Wyclyf is believed to have once been a member? Or, should we not read province instead of diocese?

[5] 'Fuit autem dictus Johannes Wigkleff temporibus Karoli IV. Romanorum imperatoris in Anglia magister universitatis Oxoniensis et presbiter plebanus cuiusdam parrochie Cantuariensis diocesis et, sicut quidam mihi rettulit, natus in Anglia ex patre Judeo, matre vero Christiana et vidua, que mortuo marito depauperata de Francia venit in Angliam.' *Chronica pontificum*, p. 142.

[6] A. B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times, being the Early History of St. Edmund Hall* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 133–61. On Payne's origins, p. 135.

[7] *Chronica pontificum*, pp. 47 and 88–9. I can find Cardigan's name nowhere.

Walsingham, for whom Wyclyf was 'organum diabolicum, hostis Ecclesiae, confusio vulgi, haereticorum speculum, schismatis incentor, odii seminator, mendacii fabricator . . .' would miss the chance to denigrate Wyclyf's parents.[1]

The information that Andreas collected from the bishop of Lincoln is scattered throughout his work, and thus not surprisingly we find a last reference to Wyclyf in Andreas' *Concilium Constantiense*, a collection of documents on the council of Constance. There we read Flemyng's funeral oration at the death of Master William Corfe, which the bishop had delivered in Constance.[2] This sermon is valuable for its Wyclyf references. Flemyng's tone is interesting for, although he may have been a Lollard in 1409, this funeral oration of 1417 shows no trace of Lollardy.[3] On the contrary, the bishop praised Corfe as 'speculum magisterii et lucerna doctorum' and reminded his audience that 'with an unsheathed sword [Corfe] fought . . . the errors and heresies of the pestiferous Wickleff who, as a detestable thorn, grew up among the most fragrant and blooming gardens of roses of Oxford . . .'.[4] It is scarcely surprising that in 1428 the same bishop issued orders to have Wyclyf's bones dug up and burnt in Lutterworth where they had lain untouched since 1384.

Modern historians have recognized that Andreas was a most assiduous collector of information, and we must assume that the short notes he left us represent all or most of his gleanings about Wyclyf.[5] The material from his works may not encourage any large scale re-evaluations but it does provide a fresh view of old problems. Certainly, the question of Wyclyf's birthplace will not be solved by Bishop Flemyng's testimony alone with its undeniable difficulties of interpretation.[6] There is also at present a discernible disinclination on the part of historians to engage in the minute investigations of

[1] Walsingham, ii. 119.

[2] Andreas of Regensburg, *Concilium Constantiense*, in *Sämtliche Werke*, pp. 252–6. The oration has been discussed by J. M. Vidal, 'Un recueil manuscrit de sermons prononcés aux Conciles de Constance et de Bâle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (1909), 499. Vidal failed to identify the orator and expressed the view that the sermon was pronounced at the council of Basel. He was corrected by H. Finke, *Acta Concilii Constanciensis* (4 vols., Münster, 1896–1928), ii. 496. Cf. P. Arendt, *Die Predigten des Konstanzer Konzils* (Freiburg i. B., 1933), pp. 106, 262–3.

[3] Documents illustrative of Flemyng's Lollard leanings are in *Snappe's Formulary and Other Records*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford Hist. Soc., lxxx, 1924), pp. 95–100, 121–3, 125–8. E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399–1485* (Oxford, 1961), p. 97, is of the opinion that the charges of Lollardy against Flemyng were 'ill-founded'. For a short review of the incident see *Biog. Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, i. 697.

[4] 'Nam inter doctores et magistros ceteros regni nostri scripturis et actibus in sermonibus determinalibus et lecturis istius pestiferi Wickleff errores et heresis, qui in suavissimo et florenti roseto Oxonie spina succrevit odibilis, nulli prorsus parcens persone aut statui doctorali insultus gladio obpugnavit. . . .' *Concilium Constantiense*, p. 254.

[5] Andreas of Regensburg, *Sämtliche Werke*, pp. xiii–xvii; Schmeidler, i, cols. 74–9; J. Wahl, *Andreas von Regensburg, ein Geschichtsschreiber des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen diss., Altavilla, 1882), *passim*.

[6] In the text of Andreas of Regensburg, does the word *villa* mean village or manor?

places and years of birth and death that so much fascinated historians of the nineteenth century: did not one of them in fact say that the problem of Wyclyf's birthplace is of no importance?[1] But there is life in details; this remote meeting of a wine-imbibing bishop, a curious canon and a mysterious *quidam* talking about the birth of a remoter Wyclyf, is worth preserving.

V. MUDROCH

The Private Fortune of Marian Hastings

TO MOST OF HER contemporaries, Warren Hastings's second wife, Anna Maria *née* Chapusetin, formerly the wife of Baron Carl von Imhoff, appeared as a bizarre figure, the source of much speculation and rumour.[2] The most persistent of all the rumours repeated about her was that she was avaricious, had not been above accepting presents from Indians, and had amassed a sizable fortune on her own account by the time she returned to England. Her lavishly bejewelled appearances in public after her return in 1784, a year ahead of her husband, added point to these stories, and she did not escape the attention of the authors of the *Rolliad*.

> 'Tis Mrs. *Hastings*' self brings up the rear!
> Gods! how her diamonds flock
> On each unpowdered lock!
> On every membrane see a topaz clings!
> Behold!—her joints are fewer than her rings![3]

While occasional references have led most of Hastings's biographers to conclude that her reputation for acquisitiveness was not altogether ill-deserved, and that she had, in fact, accumulated a considerable fortune during her years in India,[4] no attempt has been made to assess the extent of this fortune. Such an assessment can, however, be made on the evidence provided by two letters in one of the volumes of undated correspondence in the Hastings papers in the British Museum.[5]

Both these letters were written by Major John Scott—the first to Mrs.

[1] V. H. H. Green, *The Later Plantagenets* (1955), p. 191.

[2] For biographical information on the second Mrs. Hastings, see: S. C. Grier, *The Great Proconsul* (1904), pp. 431–5, and *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, ed. S. C. Grier (1905), pp. 27–35; also H. E. Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta* (4th edn., 1908), pp. 404–10. There is a small collection of her papers in the Bodleian (MS. Dep. c. 185).

[3] *The Rolliad, in two parts; Probationary Odes for the Laureateship; and Political Miscellanies* (revised edn., 1795), pp. 325–6.

[4] E.g. K. Feiling, *Warren Hastings* (1953), pp. 208–9.

[5] There is a reference to one of these letters in *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*, p. 439, n. 1; otherwise they appear to have escaped the attention of Hastings's biographers.

Hastings, the second to her husband—in the early months of 1796. Since April 1795, when the seven years of his impeachment had ended in his acquittal, Hastings had been applying to the East India Company for assistance in meeting his enormous legal costs. To prove his need of such assistance Hastings had been obliged to provide the chairman of the Company with a statement of his fortune. In this statement Hastings wrote that he himself possessed no more than £65,000 on his return to England; he also gave details about his wife's fortune. Her 'principle sum', he wrote, was her marriage settlement:

> The sum was one lack of sicca rupees.... When it was ultimately paid, the sum with the interest, amounted to £22,234—this, by the sale of some jewels, grew to £40,000, from which £10,000 were deducted for the purchase of a house and furniture in Park Lane, lately made over as a security for that sum assigned as the marriage settlement of Mrs. Imhoff, the wife of her son.[1] I declare upon my honour... that I have never added to her fortune since the day of my marriage...; nor to my knowledge or belief, does she possess any property beyond the sum which I have specified.[2]

This part of Hastings's statement was received with general and, as Scott's letters show, justifiable scepticism. Scott had been Hastings's agent for fifteen years. In return for his services Hastings had promised to make up to him the money which he had spent on Hastings's press campaign, on his own seat in parliament, and on his life in London during the trial. In August 1795 Scott asked Hastings for £17,140.[3] He was not, however, content with this claim alone: he felt that Mrs. Hastings could well afford to make some provision for him out of those of her resources which he knew had not been disclosed in her husband's statement to the East India Company.

Major John Scott to Mrs. Hastings, Tuesday Night [23 February 1796][4] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29194, fos. 58–62.

Dear Madam

As our affairs are now drawing to a happy close, I hope it will not be thought *unreasonable*, if I take the Liberty to say a few Words to you upon *my Situation* and future Prospects.

While this important Business was depending I can safely say that I never bestowed a Thought upon myself, and if from the Villainy of Mankind Mr. Hastings had been ruined, I also should have met Ruin, without a Murmur.

But as the Case *now stands* I may upon the strictest Principles of *Justice* and *Honour* expect something *very different*.

[1] Charles Imhoff (d. 1853), Mrs. Hastings's eldest son by her first husband, married Charlotte Blunt in Feb. 1795.

[2] Hastings to Sir S. Lushington, 22 Sept. 1795, printed in *The Debates at the East India House on the 14th of October, 1795*, appx., pp. 3–4.

[3] Scott to Hastings, 3 Aug. 1795. British Museum, Additional MS. 29231, fos. 11–12.

[4] This letter appears to have been written on the Tuesday before 26 Feb. 1796, the day on which Hastings heard of the Court of Directors' final decision to grant him financial assistance (Hastings's Diary, Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 39883, fos. 74–5).

Of Mr. Hastings's Intentions *I never entertained a Doubt*, and therefore what you were pleased *to hint this Morning* only confirmed me in an opinion *which I always entertained*; But of *his Power* to carry these Intentions into *immediate Effect* with any Regard to *his own Honour* I have very great Doubts. Johnson[1] and I told him on Sunday, that it was *absolutely necessary* he should have an *aparent Income* equal to his Expences, upon *that Statement* which he had given to the World upon Honour, as the whole amounts both of *his Fortune* and *yours*, after the Payment of his Debts.[2]

From Mr. Hastings therefore *at the present Moment*, it will be very improper to take any Thing beyond the sum which he has admitted to be due to me,[3] and if *your Fortune* was only what Mr. Hastings *has represented* it, *and what he believes it to be*, I should be the *meanest* and the *basest of Men*, if I required that, which, *as Matters are really circumstanced*, I deem *a mere Debt of Justice* repeatedly acknowledged *by you*, both *in Conversation*, and *by Letters*, to be due to me.

Knowing as I *now do*, that your Fortune *is so very ample*, that what I require to make me perfectly easy (which is the sum that *you* have *so often mentioned*) can be spared without *the smallest Inconvenience* either to *yourself* or *your Family*,[4] I trust you will not accuse me of Rudeness when I say, that whatever Distinction may be made *in other Cases*, between your Fortune, and Mr. Hastings's, *there can be none, in a Business in which I am concerned.*

During the *ten years* that this Struggle has lasted you have again and again, both in Conversation, and by Letters expressed *the most anxious Solicitude for my Interests*, and when the last Money was received from India, you told me that the next lack of Rupees that came, *should be for me*.[5] In Truth I know not *that at any time*, our Interests were looked upon as *distinct* either *by ourselves*, or *by the World*. We were to *sink* or to *swim together*. I might under different Circumstances have lamented the *Want of ability* but I never had Reason to doubt *the anxiety* of Mr. Hastings, and yourself to provide for me, when our Business was brought to a Close.

It was *mere accident*, not impertinent Curiosity, I do assure you, which brought me acquainted with *the real State of your Fortune*. I wished to be ignorant of it, that I might confidently contradict the Reports which were continually carried to Lord Thurlow[6] and others, relative to the amount of your Fortune.

You must well remember when I came to Daylesford last Year,[7] and how anxious I was, lest any Conversation should pass upon the Subject between you and Mr. Hastings; I told you how earnestly I entreated him not to say a Word to you about it, for *I well knew*, that if you appeared to possess *a single Shilling*

[1]Richard Johnson (d. 1807), a former Company servant, was a partner in the house of Edwards, Templer, Middleton, Johnson and Wedgwood, with whom both the Hastings banked after 1795.

[2]Hastings's statement of 22 Sept. 1795 (see above, p. 246).

[3]Scott was claiming £17,140 for his expenses during the impeachment.

[4]Mrs. Hastings had two sons by her first marriage: Charles (see above, p. 246 n. 1) and Julius, who entered the Company's service, dying in Bengal in 1799.

[5]In response to appeals for help during the impeachment, various Indians, notably the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, had sent Hastings about £20,000. A 'lack' (*lakh*) is 100,000 rupees, or about £10,000.

[6]The former lord chancellor was a keen partisan of Hastings.

[7]Scott had stayed at Daylesford, Hastings's estate in Worcestershire, from 20 to 22 Sept. 1795.

beyond what we had invariably declared to be *the whole amount of your Fortune*, neither the Directors nor the King's Ministers *would have given us a Guinea*.

If you have read Sir Stephen Lushington's Letter to Mr. Hastings you will recollect that he states *the Suspicions* which operated upon the Minds of the King's Ministers; and he tells, Mr. Hastings that it would be a *Subterfuge* highly unbecoming his Character, and Honour to attempt *a Distinction* between his Fortune and your's. *His* own Good Sense the Chairman said would shew him the Impropriety of such an attempt.[1]

In the Reply Mr. Hastings declared, that to the best of his Knowledge and Belief *all* that you possessed was 30,000£ on Mortgage,[2] and the House in Park Lane.[3] He has *repeatedly* said the same *to me* since when he has been talking of his Situation, and he has observed that after settling the 30,000£ on Charles, you would be a *Beggar*, unless his affairs were happily settled.[4]

I am *now* convinced that Mr. Hastings *totally forgot* the Money which is in my Hands belonging to you when he wrote to the Chairman. He *knew* that I had it, at the time of Charles's Marriage; Until my last Conversation with you, I believed that Mr. Hastings *purposely omitted* to mention this Sum, and from a Motive perfectly justifiable, and laudable. I had written to him in August, an exact account of my Fortune, as it would stand when our affairs were closed, I had mentioned a Sum which would set me at Ease, provided his affairs should be so settled as to enable him to spare it.[5] I received the kindest, and most affectionate Reply from him, and in the following Month I came to Dayleaford, and the Letter was written to the Chairman. I conceived that Mr. Hastings had *omitted* to mention this Sum, because it was *intended* to be given *to me* as the *simplest* and the *best* Mode of doing what I was always convinced in my own Mind, *both himself, and you intended to do* as soon as our Business was closed. If Mr. Hastings *had* mentioned this Sum as a Part of your Property, you well know what the Consequence would have been; the Directors and the Ministers would have given *less*, by the amount of the Sum in my Hands, *than they will now give*, for they have proceeded *in the fullest Confidence* that you possess *nothing* which can be called *Property*, except the Sum mentioned by Mr. Hastings, therefore you do in Point of Fact lose nothing, by giving this Sum to me.[6]

[1] Lushington (1744–1807), the chairman of the Company, had written to Hastings on 17 Sept. 1795 (*The Debates at the East India House*, appx., pp. 1–2).

[2] This sum had been advanced through Major Scott to his cousin Richard Hill Waring (1718–98), apparently on the security of Waring's estate at Ince in Cheshire. The mortgage was unpaid in 1800, but was presumably paid off shortly afterwards when Scott, who had inherited Ince, sold it, reputedly for £80,000 (Public Record Office, C 12/263/36 and G. Ormerod, *History of the County Palatine and City of Chester* (1882), ii. 13).

[3] The Hastings had bought the lease of the house from Lord Bateman in Oct. 1789 for £8,000. The money came from Hastings's bank account (Barclay's Bank, Goslings' Branch, Ledger 'G' to 'K', 1789–91, fo. 109), but the lease became his wife's property. It was sold to Lord Rosebery in 1797 for £11,249 (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29232, fos. 221–2).

[4] At Charles Imhoff's marriage in Feb. 1795, his mother settled £10,000 on him, secured on the house in Park Lane. A year later she added another £30,000 (Mrs. Hastings to Johnson, 29 March 1797. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29175, fos. 74–5).

[5] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29231, fos. 11–12.

[6] In his letter to Hastings, Scott revealed that 'this sum' was £12,000 (see below, p. 251).

Soon after my Return from Daylesford, a General Court was announced, to consider Mr. Hastings's Letter.[1] Before it met, Chiswell[2] consulted me, and then *for the first Time* I knew for *a Certainty* that if we could get a Sum of Money to clear Mr. Hastings's Expences, there was *an ample Fortune*, from which what will make *me* perfectly easy could be spared, *without doing an Injury to any Body*. Chiswell told me that he was very sure Mr. Hastings did not know that he possessed any Property of yours, but if a *strong Question* should be put to him in the General Court, his answer must *destroy all our Hopes*, and therefore I advised, that he should not make his appearance, to which he agreed.[3]

Forgive me for dwelling upon this Subject. I own I feel myself both *hurt*, and *mortified*. When you spoke to me before Miss Payne, what you said, operated as an Electric Shock. Possibly I misunderstood you, and most sincerely indeed do I hope I did. I understood you to express a Concern that the *Smallness* of Mr. Hastings's Fortune would not enable him to do what he wished. As Matters appear *to him* it certainly will not, but as *they are* nothing can be so easy.

My Fortune as it will stand when our accounts are closed will condemn me to Retirement, and Obscurity.[4] With the *addition*, which *you have so often mentioned*, I should be quite at my Ease, and *if it were made* in the Way, that until you spoke to me the other night about the Money in my Hands, I thought *it was made*, there would be an End of every Thing. Prudence, and Propriety seem to point out that the Provision for me, should proceed from a Source unknown to the whole World in Preference to any other. You will act as you think best, after giving the Subject *a fair*, and a *full Consideration*.

The *least* that the Directors will do, will be to give *all* that Mr. Hastings has asked—which is Nineteen Thousand Pounds *more* than the Impeachment has cost him *in every Way*. I mean Nineteen Thousand Pounds more than all the Law Expences, and all my Expences of every Kind. We shall certainly deduct Fourteen Thousand Pounds from Shawe's Bills, and I hope the Directors will give Ten Thousand Pounds *more* than Mr. Hastings wishes. In that case he will actually receive Forty Four Thousand Pounds *more than all the Expences which the trial has put him to*,[5] consequently the utmost Sum which my Wishes lead me to ask, will not diminish your Fortune and Mr. Hastings's *more* than the precise sum that *you have so often expressed a Wish to give me*. Had not all the Expences of the Impeachment been *fully paid*, I certainly would have shared the Fate of Mr.

[1] A meeting of the Proprietors of the East India Company was held on 14 Oct. 1795; compensation and a pension for Hastings were discussed at length.

[2] Richard Muilman Trench Chiswell (1753–97), formerly Muilman, a partner in the banking business of Richard Muilman and Company, a firm with extensive Dutch connexions.

[3] For an estimate of Mrs. Hastings's property in Chiswell's hands, see below, p. 252.

[4] Scott told Hastings that when he returned to England in 1781, he possessed a fortune of £19,470, which would give him an income of about £900 a year (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29231, fo. 11). In 1798, however, he inherited estates in Cheshire and Shropshire giving him a gross income of over £4,000 (to Hastings, 21 July 1799. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29177, fo. 49).

[5] Scott's estimate was wildly over-optimistic: at his acquittal Hastings appears to have owed over £85,000 (of which his solicitor Richard Shawe eventually waived £9,000 by giving up his claims to interest), and to have paid out about £15,000 of his own money on his defence; the Company eventually gave him £42,000, as arrears on an annuity, and an interest-free loan of £50,000.

Hastings. As Matters are, I am convinced that it will be more for all our Interests, and more honorable for us all, to adopt the mode which I point out, than for Mr. Hastings himself to provide for me from the small Fortune which he will *aparently* possess. *Ultimately* it can make no Difference either to you, or your Family, whether I receive this Sum *now* from you, or in *future* from Mr. Hastings.

I have now stated freely and openly all that I feel and think upon a Subject, on which I own, I never thought *until a few days ago*, it would be necessary ever to say a Word. I was *as confident* of your anxiety for my Independence, as I am of Mr. Hastings's. Sincerely do I hope that I have now no Cause to change my opinion, but that I entirely misunderstood you when we last conversed together.

I am Dear Madam,

Your faithful and

Obliged Hble Sert.

Mrs. Hastings. John Scott.

P.S. I ought to apologize for having troubled you with so long a Letter, but I wished to make myself *clearly understood*, and it was impossible to do that without going into some Length.

On 26 February 1796 the Court of Directors finally decided to grant Hastings an annuity of £4,000, to be dated from 1785 and thus to give him an immediate payment of £42,000, with an interest-free loan of £50,000.[1] 'Most unfortunately' for Scott, Hastings obtained possession of the letter to his wife, which Scott admitted might have been 'conceived in improper terms'. To remove any unpleasant impressions created by his letter, Scott sent Hastings an equally verbose but rather more deferential explanation. Since this letter covers much the same ground as the previous one to Mrs. Hastings, it need not be quoted in full. It does, however, add details about the portion of Mrs. Hastings's fortune which had been placed in Scott's hands, and it describes another episode in his struggle to conceal the full extent of this fortune from those who had to approve the financial assistance given to Hastings.

Major John Scott to Warren Hastings, [*ante* 14 April 1796][2] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29194, fos. 8–11.

... In the year 1792, Mr. Grey,[3] and Mr. Taylor[4] told Law[5] that as they were likely to be pushed to the Wall respecting you, they were determined to examine Chiswell, and me relative to the amount of Mrs. Hastings's Fortune. I treated the Matter with great Indifference to Law, and told him that I had no Money Trans-

[1] India Office Library, Court Minutes, 104A, 1340–1.

[2] Since a large part of this letter dealt with Hastings's debt to Scott, it was clearly written before 14 Apr., when Hastings 'settled accounts (but not finally)' with him (Hastings's Diary. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 39883, fo. 82).

[3] Charles Grey (1764–1845), the future prime minister.

[4] Michael Angelo Taylor (1757–1834), an opposition M.P.

[5] Edward Law (1715–1818), later 1st Baron Ellenborough, one of Hastings's counsel.

actions with Mrs. Hastings, except as to the Mortgage[1] which was a Business publickly avowed. She will well remember that I mentioned the Subject to her, but with as much Delicacy as I could.

Without such a Communication from the Managers of their Intentions I certainly should not have thought myself justified in doing what I did, when Money was wanted. But with this Information before me I took upon myself to employ 6000 £ in paying Expences that I was incurring upon your account, and afterwards in employing the other 6000 £ in paying Shawe, telling Johnson that I had advanced my own Money for that Purpose.

The Design of examining Chiswell and me was mentioned also to him, who told me that he would refuse to answer any Question in Westminster Hall, but fortunately the Intention was abandoned, and Matters remained as they were, until January 1795, when Charles's Marriage was about to take Place,[2] and when our Business was drawing very near to a close. At that most critical Moment, Mrs. Hastings wrote to me, that she wished to new arrange all her affairs, to withdraw the Mortgage of 30,000 £, to receive the 3000 £ which she had lent to my Brother,[3] and the 12,000 £ of which I had the Charge. This Demand was most distressing. It was made at the very Crisis of our Fate; I was then, and had been for Months before, every Day, and almost the half of every night that his Health would permit, with Lord Thurlow. I had pledged myself to him for the Truth of our Representations as to the amount of Mrs. Hastings's Fortune, as far as my Knowledge, or Belief went, and this I had done the more, because Stables[4] had perpetually told him a different Story.

... There was still one further Period. Dundas[5] and Pitt who had agreed to the loan of 50,000 £ retracted their Consent from fresh suspicions infused into them relative to Mrs. Hastings's Fortune. At one time if they did lend the Money they would have 4, then 3 per Cent, and Johnson and myself at last got them to agree to it as it now stands, on receiving the strongest assurances, that less would not do, to give you the 4000 £ a Year which they said you ought to have, and of which they invariably contended that Mrs. Hastings's Fortune should and ought to make a Part. In this Point alone Lord Thurlow said they were right. Even on the Day that the final Consent was obtained,[6] Dundas asked Sir S. Lushington if he really thought you required it, who laughingly replied, you certainly did, unless Major Scott was a very great Rogue, for that he had declared that it was absolutely necessary....

Scott's letters show that in addition to the £30,000 lent on mortgage to Waring and the £10,000 from the sale of the Park Lane house, which were included in Hastings's statement and all of which had been settled on her son Charles Imhoff, Marian Hastings possessed £12,000 which had been

[1] See above, p. 248 n. 2.

[2] See above, p. 246.

[3] Captain Jonathan Scott (1753–1829), a distinguished oriental linguist.

[4] John Stables (d. 1795) had been one of Hastings's colleagues on the Supreme Council.

[5] The grant to Hastings had to be approved by the Board of Control, of which Dundas was the dominant member.

[6] The Board of Control gave their consent on 1 March.

entrusted to Scott, £3,000 lent to his brother and an unspecified sum in the hands of Richard Chiswell. None of this money appeared in Hastings's statement. Further evidence about the sum in Chiswell's hands is provided by a letter written by Henry Nantes, Chiswell's partner in Richard Muilman and Company. In February 1797 Chiswell committed suicide and Richard Muilman stopped payments. 'You for the moment must become a Sufferer', Nantes told Mrs. Hastings, 'as your £60/m 3 perC and £13/m 4 perC are not now existing'.[1] Nantes later described how Richard Muilman had received remittances on Mrs. Hastings's behalf from the Calcutta House of Agency Charles Croftes and Richard Johnson, which they had invested in consols.[2] On the day Richard Muilman stopped payments, £60,000 in three per cent consols and £13,000 in four per cent consols would have been worth £42,275. Nantes was declared bankrupt and claims, a larger proportion of which came from Dutch investors in British securities, were eventually proved against Richard Muilman amounting to £457,510.[3] Mrs. Hastings's claim was taken up on her behalf, but she wrote in 1808 that no part of it could be recovered unless her husband swore personally to the debt.[4] On Hastings's death in 1818 she claimed £62,074 (a sum which presumably included several years of unpaid interest on the stock) in her own name. Her claim was accepted and she was paid accumulated dividends of 4*s.* 1*d.* in the pound, amounting to £12,485.[5] A further dividend of 1*s.* ¾*d.* was paid in 1821 and dividends of a few fractions of a penny continued to be paid until 1860.

Presumably because he was ignorant of it, Scott's letters did not mention a further sum of £10,000 belonging to Mrs. Hastings which her bank account shows had been advanced to Sir John D'Oyley, one of Hastings's closest friends from India.[6] D'Oyley's financial embarrassments forced him to live in Ireland, and then, in 1804, to return to India. Mrs. Hastings's loan, secured on Irish property, appears to have remained unpaid when D'Oyley died in 1818.[7]

Hastings told the chairman of the East India Company in September 1795 that to the best of his belief his wife possessed £40,000; it would seem that at the time she actually possessed at least £107,725. She was later to subsidize her husband to a considerable extent, but she seems to have been determined to preserve an adequate provision for her own family and she kept the details of her fortune very much to herself. Scott's letters suggest that although Hastings may have thought it wise to cultivate his ignorance about his wife,

[1] 8 Feb. 1797. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29175, fo. 35.

[2] To R. Dann, 8 Jan. 1819. P.R.O., B 3/3686. See also a note in Hastings's hand. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 39890M, fos. 17–18.

[3] See the commission of bankruptcy's files on Nantes's case. P.R.O., B 3/3681 to 3688.

[4] To C. Imhoff, 22 Apr. 1808. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 29183, fo. 250.

[5] P.R.O., B 3/3686.

[6] Barclay's Bank, Goslings' Branch, Ledger 'G' to 'I', 1791–3, fo. 145, and *ibid.*, 1793–5, fo. 150. D'Oyley (1754–1818) was the 6th Baronet.

[7] C. Imhoff to G. Cooke, 31 July 1819. Bodl. Libr., MS. Dep. c. 185.

he did not deliberately issue misleading statements. With virtually no evidence about Mrs. Hastings's affairs in India, there seems to be no means of knowing how she acquired her fortune; but the amount of money involved makes it difficult to believe that the explanation can be a very creditable one.[1]

P. J. MARSHALL

[1]I am extremely grateful to Lieutenant-Colonel D. M. Gosling, the Local Director of Barclay's Bank (Goslings' Branch), 19 Fleet Street, for permission to consult the accounts of Hastings and his wife which are kept at the bank.

Historical News

THE Thirty-Seventh Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the University of London on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, 9, 10 and 11 July 1964. There were two general meetings and ten section meetings, held either in the Beveridge Hall of the Senate House or in the England Room at the Institute of Historical Research. The total enrolment was 528, of whom 121 were from the United States of America and Commonwealth countries. The opening meeting was addressed by Mr. G. C. Morris on the subject of 'Shakespeare's Politics', with the Right Honourable J. Enoch Powell, M.P., in the Chair. At the closing meeting, over which Professor R. A. Humphreys presided, Professor C. L. Mowat read a paper on 'War's Transformations: the experience of Britain and the United States in the First World War'. The various sections of the Conference heard papers on the following subjects: 'Some Problems of Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic', by Dr. P. T. Chaplais; 'Who were farming the English demesnes at the end of the Middle Ages?', by Professor F. R. H. Du Boulay; 'The Conquest of Violence in Early Modern England', by Professor L. Stone; 'Charles II and the Popish Plot', by Professor W. G. Simon; 'Town Planning in Bloomsbury, 1776–1900', by Dr. D. J. Olsen; 'The Conservative Character and Radical Consequences of the American Revolution', by Professor W. H. Nelson; 'A Tour of Crotchet Castle: the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge at Small Expense', by Professor C. F. Mullett; 'British Electoral Geography, 1885–1910', by Dr. Henry Pelling; 'Appeasement—the Rise of a Revisionist School', by Mr. D. C. Watt; and 'The Public Records; the Historian, the National Interest and Official Policy', by Mr. H. G. Nicholas. On the Thursday afternoon the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. P. S. Noble, received members of the Conference in the Macmillan Hall of the Senate House. There were Buffet Luncheons on the Friday and Saturday, a tea party given by the Institute on Friday afternoon and the Conference Dinner at the Connaught Rooms in the evening. Professor H. C. Allen proposed the toast of the visitors from overseas and Mr. F. S. Mason responded. The annual garden party of the Royal Historical Society was as usual held on the Saturday afternoon after the close of the Conference. There was the customary annual exhibition in the Institute of historical works published in the United Kingdom during the previous twelve months. At the business meeting of the Conference it was decided to hold a similar short one from 8 to 10 July 1965. Particulars may be obtained from the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London, W.C.1.

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The following announcement in July 1964 has a bearing on the discussion of 'the fifty-year rule' now operating at the Public Record Office and elsewhere in the United Kingdom:

'The Trustees of the British Museum have been reconsidering their policy with regard to the reservation from public use of papers forming part of their collections which are of possible value to historical and other students. Generally speaking, these papers are those of modern statesmen, diplomats and other persons who have taken part in Government service or public life. Hitherto they have normally been reserved for fifty years from the date of the creation of the paper.

The Trustees have decided that they ought to change their practice in certain respects, with a view to giving freer access to most of these papers. In future therefore they will observe the following rules: (1) Where the donor of a collection makes his own stipulations as to restriction of access and the Trustees accept or have accepted the collection subject to those stipulations, the stipulations will be observed. (2) Papers which are clearly identifiable by their marking as being the property of H.M. Government will be reserved under the existing fifty-year rule as applied to departmental papers. This restriction is maintained in order to harmonize with the current Departmental practice and would be reviewed if there was any change in that practice.

Subject to these two qualifications, it is not the intention of the Trustees for the future to impose any restrictions on access to such papers as they have described and this policy is intended to be applied to all such papers, whether now or in the future, forming part of the Museum collections.'

* * * * * *

In the British Book Production Exhibition for 1964, sponsored by the National Book League, one of the four publications of the Athlone Press selected for display was volume V of the new edition of John Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541*. This was the volume dealing with *St. Paul's, London*, compiled by Joyce M. Horn. Ten volumes have now been issued, the latest two dealing with *Exeter Diocese* and *Coventry and Lichfield Diocese*. Two further volumes will complete the series for the period 1300–1541: *The Welsh Dioceses* (in the press) and an *Introduction and Index* to the whole. Work has already started on the post-Reformation period and on the very difficult early medieval period. Particulars of the completed series for 1300–1541 may be obtained from the Athlone Press or from the Institute of Historical Research.

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Offprints of the list of 'Registers of the universities, colleges and schools of Great Britain and Ireland', contained in this number of the *Bulletin*, may be obtained from the publishers or from the Institute, price 10s. (10*s*. 6*d*. to include postage).

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The Julian Corbett Prize in Modern Naval History, value £50, is normally open for competition every other year but, as there were no entries for 1964, a competition will be held in 1965 as well as in 1966. Subjects of essays to be submitted for the 1965 competition must be approved by 31 December 1964, and for the 1966 competition by 1 October 1965. Copies of the regulations may be obtained from the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research.

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In the First Circular concerning the Twelfth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Vienna next summer the dates were wrongly given (*ante*, xxxvii. 113). The Congress will in fact start on Sunday, 29 August, and end on Sunday, 5 September 1965. A Second Circular giving the detailed programme and including registration forms should be available in the autumn of 1964. Inquiries by British historians may be made to the Honorary Secretary, British National Committee, care of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, W.C.1.

Summaries of Theses

250. *The Doukai from the Ninth to the Twelfth Centuries: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography.* By D. I. Polemis, Ph.D.

A considerable number of Byzantines, both noble and common, have in the course of several centuries borne the surname of Doukas. Some of them attained the highest offices of state, while others lived and died in obscurity. This thesis attempts to assess the place of the various groups of persons called Doukai in the history of Byzantium and covers the period from about the middle of the ninth century up to the fall of Constantinople to the Latins (1204).

In the first place, it must not be assumed that all the Doukai belonged to one and the same house, however numerous its branches may have eventually become. No evidence can be adduced in support of this. Consequently the thesis is not a family history but rather a prosopographical examination of all known bearers of the name. There can be no doubt that the name itself owes its existence to the well-known military rank of *dux* which is very frequently met throughout the Byzantine period. It is, in fact, not unusual for military or administrative titles to be used as surnames, and that of *dux*, which in the mid-ninth century came to be applied to rather remote regional commanders, fits into this pattern. To be sure, the original form of the surname had been Doux, and only in the eleventh century did the demotic form Doukas prevail and prove more popular.

The first person who can indisputably be called Doux was a general, presumably of Greek background, who flourished about 855. The man (erroneously styled Andronikos by a later source) was probably the first to be known by the surname of Doux and may have become the ancestor of the distinguished tenth-century house of that name. Seven members of this group are known, and all were associated with the army. Especially outstanding were Andronikos who died among the Arabs in *c.* 908 and his son Konstantinos, killed in 913, whose military exploits deeply impressed certain sections of the populace of Asia Minor, and whose names passed into the epics and the ballads of the Acritic cycle. It has often been argued that socially the tenth-century Doukes belonged to the feudal landed aristocracy of Byzantium, yet insufficient evidence has been found to support this view. Instead it seems likely that the exceptional military successes of the Doukes created a feeling of widespread admiration which, in the critical moments of their spasmodic attempts to seize supreme power, resulted in sentimental rather than real backing. In other words, the revolt of Andronikos in *c.* 905 and the uprising of Konstantinos in 913 are devoid of the pretension often attached to them, and no comparison can be made with the far more serious upheavals of the Asia Minor magnates later in the century.

With one of these upheavals in 976 another group of Doukes, also carrying the distinctive cognomen of Lydos, is associated. Some further information on the activities of the few known members has been preserved, but as far as can be

judged these Doukes-Lydoi do not appear to have made a great impact on their contemporaries.

The background of the imperial house of Doukas, which held the Byzantine throne for two brief periods (1059–67 and 1071–8), remains obscure despite attempts by contemporary and later writers to extol it as illustrious and noble. The family originated in Paphlagonia but lived and flourished at Constantinople as representative of the 'anti-army' bureaucratic party. Still the Doukai, of whom twenty-two members have been traced in addition to others whose exact family connexions are not entirely clear, can claim some army commanders, at least one of whom turned out exceedingly successful. It is true that during this period of military collapse the ruling house, and especially its two uninspiring emperors Konstantinos X and Michael VII, fails to impress, but one must not overlook the encouragement and support they gave to such scholars as Psellos and Ioannes Italos and how they passed on this patronage of learning to their successors. In the sixties and the seventies of the eleventh century the Doukai occupied the highest position among Byzantine aristocrats, only to be superseded within a few years by the Komnenoi. The family derived its substantial revenues from the land, and we know that its members owned extensive estates in various parts of Asia Minor, Thrace and Macedonia.

A persistent tradition considered all Doukai as forming a single family which allegedly had its origins as far back as the period of Constantine the Great. As no reliable evidence supports this, the claim must be seen within the context of corresponding allegations often voiced in favour of rising houses of Byzantium.

Whereas the male line of the Doukai proper most probably became extinct by the middle of the twelfth century, the frequent intermarriages with other families preserved their name, sometimes in compound forms. A few of the new branches that came into being proved dynamic enough, and thus the surname of Doukas lived on until the end of the empire. Its popularity can also be seen from the fact that we have instances of its use as a first name. Within the chronological limits of this thesis, the prosopography of seven families that took over the name of Doukas is examined: Doukas-Angelos, Doukas-Bryennios, Doukas-Exazenos, Doukas-Kalamanos, Doukas-Kamateros, Doukas-Komnenos, and Doukas-Palaiologos.

A large part of the thesis is made up of prosopographical sketches of all known Doukai until 1204. Altogether seventy-four such persons are examined. Documentary evidence relating to some of them is extensive, while the existence of others is only revealed in inadequate and passing references. Special attention is concentrated on questions of genealogy, chronology of careers, titles and offices the Doukai held, their literary connexions, seals and portraits if any, and bibliography.

Information pertaining to the Doukas family or to its individual members has been found in a large number of works which it is impossible to list here in detail. Printed sources include historical narratives, hagiographical *vitae*, poetry in various forms, official and private documents, collections of letters and rhetorical literature. Some unpublished material was also consulted and supplementary evidence has often been sought in seals and coins, inscriptions, and notes in manuscripts. Most of the source material is in Greek: on rare occasions oriental histories and chronicles supply a useful piece of information, while their Latin and western counterparts are of little help.

251. *The Early Tudor Courtier in Society, illustrated from Select Examples.* By R. E. BROCK, Ph.D.

THE THESIS is a comparative study of the origins, education and careers of six Tudor courtiers, namely Thomas, Lord Audley of Walden, K.G., lord chancellor (d. 1544), Sir Anthony Browne, K.G., master of the horse and captain of the gentlemen pensioners (d. 1548), Sir Thomas Cheyne, K.G., treasurer of the household and lord warden of the Cinque Ports (d. 1558), Sir Anthony Denny, chief gentleman of the privy chamber (d. 1549), William Fitzwilliam, K.G., earl of Southampton, treasurer of the household, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, lord admiral, lord privy seal (d. 1542), and Sir John Wallop, K.G., captain of Guisnes (d. 1551).

These men were selected more or less at random from Henry VIII's courtiers, but churchmen, noblemen born and the very greatest ministers were deliberately avoided. They fall into two fairly well-defined groups. Browne, Cheyne, Fitzwilliam and Wallop were from established families of country gentry, they entered the royal service early in life, had careers as household servants, ambassadors, commanders by land and sea and, save for Wallop, as privy councillors. We may think of them as the 'military' group, with Audley and Denny as 'civilians', but must bear in mind that these titles of convenience are not to be given modern connotations. Audley and Denny were men of more doubtfully gentle origin, who had university education and, by comparison with the 'military' men, entered the royal service late in life. Audley was a common lawyer who in middle life advanced rapidly from obscurity to the woolsack and privy council but never to political power. For much of this time he was Cromwell's jackal. Denny, son of a baron of the exchequer, came in through the wardrobe of robes, becoming a gentleman of the privy chamber and one of Henry VIII's closest personal attendants and friends during the last decade of the reign.

These men represent the second raters, the executors rather than formulators of policy, but they were of vital importance in seeing that the government's intentions were translated into action. They held high command in fleets and armies, took leading parts in parliament, represented England abroad, dealt with civil disturbance and religious upheaval at home, did much of the judicial work outside of the common and canon law courts and were overseers of the administration of their counties.

In religion their views represent a cross section of opinion on the Henrician reformation. On the extreme conservative side was John Wallop, a Howard sympathizer and open partisan of Katherine of Aragon, who suffered arrest for his papalism and narrowly escaped a treason trial. Anthony Browne was a conservative of the Gardiner stamp but was prepared to mute his opinions and was the first privy councillor to surrender authority to Edward Seymour in 1547. Thomas Cheyne was even nearer the equivocal but leaned to the conservative side. He survived in high office from the time of Henry VIII to the first few months of Elizabeth, when death removed him. Thomas Audley seems to have been a reformer for political reasons rather than for conscience. He was one of the chief targets of the northern rebels in 1536, was not prepared to resist the king over the act for the Six Articles but was able to mitigate its effects, being concerned with religious differences as occasions for civil unrest rather than interested in doctrinal points. Anthony Denny was, with his wife, a strong reformer, a 'great favourer of professors of the gospel' (Strype). He was twice involved in steps to protect

Cranmer against conservative plots and his wife was among those mentioned in the case of Anne Askew in 1546. His closeness to the king throughout this period is another fact to be set alongside Henry's maintenance of Cranmer and the arrangements for the education of Prince Edward and for government during his minority, which call in question the king's supposedly bigoted doctrinal rigidity. Fitzwilliam's religious views are hard to trace, but in this as in everything he was quite certainly subservient to the king.

Save for Wallop, all these men had a place in the parliaments, Audley and Fitzwilliam going on from the Commons to the Lords. Traces of their activities show how the government guided the Commons by means of privy councillors, usually representing county seats. Letters from Fitzwilliam to Cromwell in 1539 illustrate the way in which royal influence was transmitted through councillors and local magnates to secure the return of acceptable representatives. In Surrey, Sussex and Hants, the shire elections are written of as foregone conclusions, assuming the support of the local landowners. Of five boroughs mentioned, only Guildford was of sufficient independence to choose even one of its members freely. Others were pocket boroughs, Gatton already almost completely decayed. Farnham alone, dominated by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, might go against the king.

The 'military' men saw active service by land and sea against France and Scotland and manning defences against threatened invasion. Especially interesting is the close contact of Fitzwilliam and Wallop with the powerful fortress of Guisnes which protected the Pale of Calais against attack from the south. Their despatches give a detailed picture of the responsibilities and problems which faced the commander of such a post. Diplomatic work took the 'military' men across Europe from Bayonne to Cracow and from the Netherlands to Rome. It was the period when the English government was establishing resident embassies in the major courts and their reports show much of interest and establish the fact that the acquisition and transmission of information was perhaps the most important function of a resident envoy.

Tudor men of this type had important functions in both central and local administration. Audley in chancery, star chamber, privy council and parliament was most completely the central administrator, but many of the others held important offices and most were privy councillors. Some of them had much work in connexion with state trials. Audley frequently presided and others sometimes sat with him, while several of them commonly did preliminary investigation work. Made very plain in a study of these men is the way in which royal servants and councillors carried the king's authority with them wherever they went. In 1538 Fitzwilliam took urgent steps to trace and stifle a rumour about taxation which was troubling the neighbourhood of his Guildford home, and on a later occasion he was upbraiding a Sussex J.P. for neglect of duty, and imprisoning a suspect in the gatehouse of his own mansion. Such activity provided an important link between central and local administration. Fitzwilliam kept Cromwell informed by letter of every step in the above and other instances. These men all became landed magnates, all were on the commission of the peace for their own counties at least and on various other permanent or *ad hoc* bodies, not always present but able to give a lead when they were and liable to be despatched to their own parts of the country when trouble arose.

Save for the presumably Yorkshire-born Fitzwilliam all these men came from the south and east of England and all without exception built their landed fortunes there, Audley in Essex and Herts., Browne in Surrey and Sussex, Cheyne in Kent,

Fitzwilliam in Surrey, Sussex and Hants. Wallop inherited lands in Hants, but his modest gains of church lands were further west. It is of interest that Wallop, on the religious right wing, was like all the others content to receive possession of former church land. It was almost invariably acquired by purchase, very rarely by gift. Most of it was monastic, but some of the six survived long enough to get some chantry spoils. All died holding former church property more extensive than the land they had inherited or obtained from other sources. As we watch them adding abbey to abbey, manor to manor and acre to acre, the overwhelming vested interest in an independent national church becomes ever more clear. In this thesis detailed study of landholdings has been made, showing the location, areas, land use, value, type of tenure, dates of acquisition, former holders, amounts paid for purchase etc., in fact all that can be extracted from the inquisitions *post mortem*, grants of possession and licences to alienate, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* etc. The Crown allowed the building of estates in fairly well concentrated geographical areas, presumably because local pride, local influence and convenience of management led such men to wish to do so, and partly because through them would be strengthened the control of the government in matters of local administration, maintenance of law and order, collection of revenue, parliamentary elections and defence. This was to run the risk of the re-emergence of 'bastard feudalism', but it only showed itself momentarily under Northumberland. These men tended to hold what they got. Only in Audley do we find any hint of acquisition for speculative resale.

Attention has also been given to the other sources of income. The most important, probably second only to land revenues, was the holding of offices which carried salaries and profits. Tudor offices and office-holders defy classification. There existed a vast range of posts great and small, real and sinecure, in the gift principally of the king but also of the church, corporations and private persons. These six men held at one time or other over 160 offices of profit, from the lord chancellorship with annual fixed emoluments of more than £800, to the stewardship of a certain monastery manor with £1 8*s*. 6*d*. Fixed salaries were in some cases supplemented by fees, board and lodging, clothing, gifts, bribes and other perquisites. Military and diplomatic service entitled those so employed to daily allowances ('diets') on a more or less regular scale. Pensions and annuities, unattached to any office, paid by the Crown, the church, and even foreign princes, were another source of income, and to this we can add wardship and marriage rights, presentation to church livings, bequests, and executorships. We can also trace a certain amount of commercial speculation in mining and quarrying, smelting, importing and exporting, with Fitzwilliam particularly interested in shipowning. A comparison of the way in which these six men fared in land- and office-holding shows that Wallop, who was longest out of physical contact with the court, either on embassies or military service, came off by far the worst.

A significant difference existed in education between the 'military' and Audley and Denny, the 'civilians'. The latter were university trained and Audley was also in the Inns of Court. He acquired chantry property for the founding of the grammar school which still exists at Colchester and he refounded a Cambridge college, the present Magdalene. Denny, considered a good scholar at St. Paul's school and at Cambridge, was in close contact with a learned circle which was predominantly protestant in tone but included Henry Howard, earl of Surrey. He showed interest in defending learned foundations. There is very little evidence that the 'military' men gave much attention to academic learning.

played a full part as the agent of the paramount power in Assam. The rapid territorial expansion brought forth new duties for the British officers, and raised a whole series of urgent questions regarding the British purpose in India, to which conservative or paternalist, imperial, liberal, Evangelical and Utilitarian answers were variously given.

Scott, in his field of administration, proved himself as ready as Malcolm or Metcalfe to think in large imperial terms. He first came into prominence in the course of the opening of diplomatic relations with Bhutan and Tibet. During the First Burmese war (1823–6), he was the chief champion of a forward policy in Assam Valley, Cachar, Jaintia and Manipur. In October 1823, he not only advocated offence as the best means of defence but insisted that surrendering of Burmese territory towards the Bengal frontier be demanded as a future safeguard even in the event of an ultimately amicable settlement. Scott must, therefore, share the responsibility, although his own part was played reasonably well, for Amherst's ill-conducted war against Burma. He was opposed to an Ahom restoration in the lower Brahmaputra valley on the grounds that the assimilation of the Kamrup district, never fully subjected to Ahom administration, would be easy, and that Lower Assam would yield a substantial revenue. He advocated a land link between Sylhet and Gauhati through the Jaintia and Khasi hills to obviate the difficulties of river communication and visualized the settlement of European military colonies in the hills as a means of ensuring British dominance in India—and, perhaps, in Burma—and making Assam the nucleus of a fourth presidency. As this was the period when the needs of British industry were giving a new purpose to imperialism he not only fostered the growth of the silk industry in Assam itself, but also showed a keen interest in trade through Assam with Burma and China.

Although the records provide no evidence of Scott's close association with such stalwarts as Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe and Elphinstone, he had a liberal share of their attitudes, ideas and opinions both as an imperialist and an administrator. Like them, he was a paternalist, opposed to the assimilation and anglicization of everything traditionally Indian. He distrusted the Cornwallis system, and believed that the elevation of a new zemindar class, occasioned by the Permanent Settlement, apart from its ill effects on the peasantry in general, constituted an unjustifiable disrespect to the ancient institutions of Indian society. If the introduction of the English notion of landowner had done harm to Indian society, so also would the introduction of English law. 'There can be no greater mistake,' he said, 'than to suppose that the lower classes are better protected in England than in India.'

Like Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe and Elphinstone, Scott was anxious to preserve native institutions. He was as full of admiration for the popular political institutions of the Khasis as ever Metcalfe was for his 'village republics'. In Assam he not only sought to use native juries for both civil and criminal cases, but even supported a system of popular election of revenue collectors. His wish to preserve an Ahom state in Upper Assam was another aspect of the same basic policy. Appreciating the need to introduce a new class of officials in Kamrup, he envisaged the establishment of an Ahom state to provide for the emergence of a native aristocracy, loyal to the British government. To him the subsidiary alliance was inadequate, and he thought in terms of larger powers of interference.

Scott's attitude to Christian missions and slavery in Assam provides a welcome insight into his philosophy of government. Although not happy with the existence of slavery in Assam, yet as a practical realist he allowed it to continue in times of

famine and other similar calamities. In answer to the Court of Directors' disapproval of his measures, he made a strong plea for abandoning an alien idealism, and emphatically underlined the need for formulating policies with reference strictly to Indian conditions. He claimed that his measures were devised to serve the interests of the greatest number and that, although slavery was reprehensible in principle, in Assam it was in difficult times the *sine qua non* for saving hundreds of lives.

Scott's interest in Christian missionary work may seem, at first sight, rather at variance with his wish to preserve Indian institutions. Fundamentally, however, he was unequivocably in the tradition of the Munro school in contradistinction to the 'expansive and aggressive attitude' displayed by the Utilitarians and Evangelicals. His appeal, in 1825, to the supreme government to send missionaries to the Garo hills, which he represented as a most promising field for conversion, was not dictated by that 'consuming earnestness and conviction, born of a transfiguring religious experience', which Stokes declares to have been the hallmark of the Evangelical mind.

Scott was a practical administrator and a realist. He noted and accepted the good in Indian society: he was totally uninterested in change simply for the sake of change. But he could be passionate in pursuing improvement. He ended, as many of the great administrators did, by identifying himself with the good of the people under him, by being truly paternalistic.

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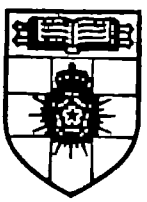
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HISTORICAL RESEARCH FOR UNIVERSITY DEGREES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Lists of historical theses completed in the universities and university colleges of the United Kingdom were printed in the journal *History* from 1920 to 1929 and in the *Bulletin* of the Institute from 1930 to 1932. Thereafter they were recorded in annual *Theses Supplements* to the *Bulletin*, with a second part added: a list of 'Theses in Progress' during each year. Beginning with *Theses Supplement* No. 15 (May 1954) the list of Theses in Progress was no longer printed but duplicated from typescript. A cumulative subject index to theses completed has been made on cards at the Institute and is being prepared for publication.

The annual list of Theses Completed is now arranged under broad chronological and topographical headings, with indexes of universities, subjects and names of authors. The following is a list of historical theses *completed and approved* for higher degrees during the calendar year 1963. For each successful thesis the approved title, the author, the name of the supervisor (in brackets), the university and the degree awarded are given. A list of Theses in Progress on 1 January 1964 has been reproduced from typescript and is available without charge to subscribers to the *Bulletin* on application to the Secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W.C.1.

Both parts of this *Theses Supplement* have, as usual, been prepared from information supplied by university registrars, secretaries of faculty boards and heads of history departments, to all of whom grateful acknowledgements are made. It is normally possibly for accredited students to consult completed theses, but the regulations of the various universities on the matter are so different that information should be sought in each case from the university concerned.

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